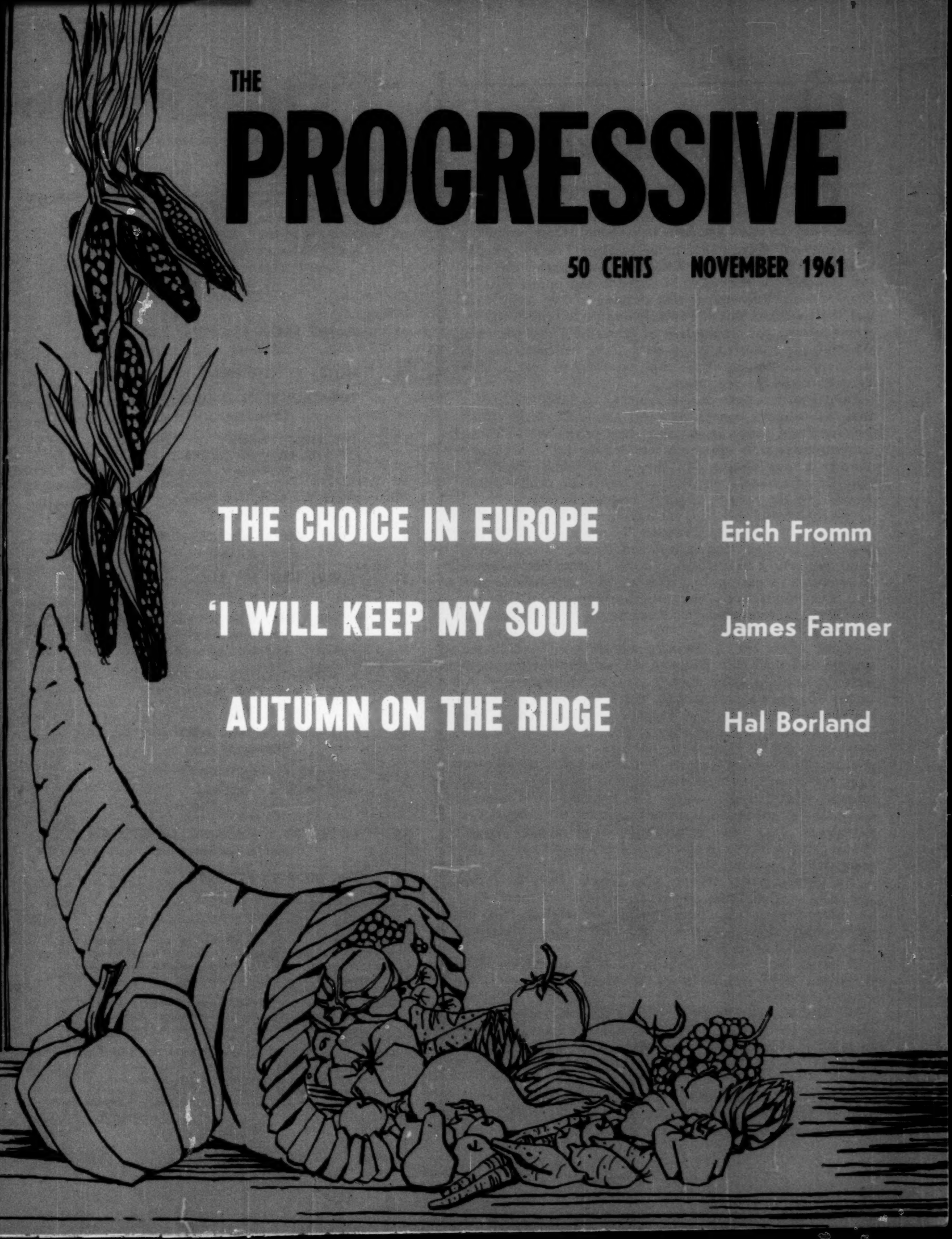
THE PROGRESSIVE

50 CENTS NOVEMBER 1961



THE CHOICE IN EUROPE Erich Fromm

'I WILL KEEP MY SOUL' James Farmer

AUTUMN ON THE RIDGE Hal Borland

Office memo

THE FIRST frosts of autumn have been accompanied by quickening hope among the staff of *The Progressive* as this year's Membership Fund campaign passed the two-thirds point on the way toward our minimum goal of $31,000. Contributions are still arriving in each day's mail, but the pace has slowed; it will require a significant increase in response on the part of subscribers who have not yet had an opportunity to send their contributions to make up the remaining $10,000 necessary to sustain *The Progressive* in the year ahead.

Contributions have ranged from $1 to $500, but checks that run to three figures are rare. The bulk of the Membership Fund comes from subscribers in modest financial circumstances who squeeze a few dollars out of a budget already wrung almost dry. Typical of many comments that come with such contributions is this one from a young member of the faculty of the University of Miami:

"Enclosed you will find a check for $5. My wife and I wish that it could be much more. However, since I am just beginning my teaching career, and faculty salaries being what they are, I find this impossible. I subscribe to more than twenty magazines but both my wife and myself agree that *The Progressive* is the outstanding one of all. I wish that words were adequate to describe our feelings for *The Progressive* . . ."

Many others cite as their reason for contributing the unique and vital role *The Progressive* plays in the intellectual life of America. Dan Wyant, of Sacramento, California, for example, expressed it this way:

"When I first saw *The Progressive* on display in the Sacramento State College library, it hardly seemed possible that such a fine magazine could be published in this country. It was gratifying to know that one could turn from the conservative, huge-circulation journals to a high-minded, liberal magazine like *The Progressive.* It is satisfying also to encounter opinions contrary to those of the newspapers and other conservative news media. Again, thank you for this opportunity to pay a small part of my great debt to this magazine."

We hardly expect readers who simply don't have the resources to contribute. However, we suspect there may be many readers who have thought of sending two, or three, or five dollars, but who fear such a small contribution would be of no help.

It would help indeed. It is precisely these modest contributions from thousands of Members that keep *The Progressive* alive.

We will be watching our mail anxiously for your response to our appeal. We hope that the next time we write this column we can report that the goal has been reached.

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In response to mounting demand, we have reprinted Milton Mayer's gem on bomb shelters, "The Tomb," from the September issue. Prices are on Page 18.

VOLUME 25 NUMBER 11

The

FOUNDED IN 1909 BY ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, SR.

NOVEMBER, 1961

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The Progressive makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management of the magazine.

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PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH
AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

Flight from Reality

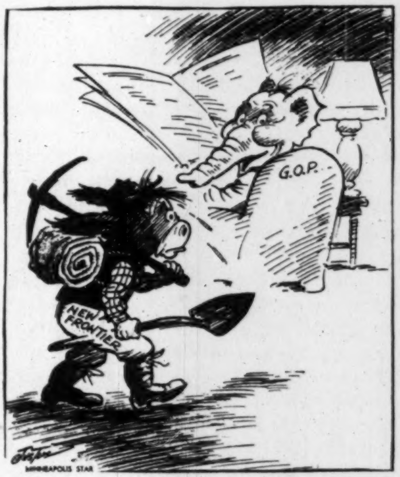
IN THE concluding days of the first session of the Eighty-seventh Congress, two of President Kennedy's chief lieutenants, Theodore C. Sorenson and Lawrence F. O'Brien, unveiled a chart before a selected group of Washington correspondents invited to a cocktail party for off-the-record briefing. The chart purported to prove that Mr. Kennedy had achieved much more with his first Congressional session than had two of his principal predecessors, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Dwight D. Eisenhower. Whereas Mr. Roosevelt, the chart showed, had succeeded in getting only eleven "major bills passed" during his first bout with Congress and Mr. Eisenhower only fourteen, President Kennedy's harvest was thirty-three "major bills approved." Mr. Kennedy, the reporters were told, was "as happy as he can be" over the way Congress dealt with his legislative program.

The whole episode struck us as an extraordinary flight from reality. It seems inconceivable that two men as sharp and able as Sorenson and O'Brien would attempt to palm off the mixed and moderate bag of the Kennedy Administration's first go-around with Congress as 300 per cent superior to the dramatic achievements of F.D.R.'s first "hundred days." It is equally hard to believe that the President was "as happy as he can be" with a Congress that had repudiated so many of the significant measures he had proposed and to whose passage the Democratic Party was pledged.

Examination of the Kennedy chart of achievement revealed that among the thirty-three "major bills approved" were proposals to create an international travel agency to lure tourists to the United States, increase research funds for saline water conservation, reduce tourist customs exemptions, raise the debt ceiling and establish a National Park at Cape Cod.

Another chart, however, one which emphasized quality rather than quantity, would have shown that Congress failed to act in such genuinely major fields as Federal aid to education, medical assistance for the aged, civil rights, tax reform, improvement of conditions for migratory labor, and retraining of workers idled by automation. Nor was there any action of consequence on the central social and economic problem confronting the nation—high and chronic unemployment, nearly seven per cent for the last ten months—despite general business recovery from recession.

It seems clear from the record that the bold promise of the New Frontier yielded to caution, compromise, and expediency as the session wore on. Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), which serves as a liberal watchdog in Washington, concluded that the record of the first session "is at best one of callous expediency and, at worst, one of astonishing indifference to real national needs. On the scorecard of achievement which records the steps toward historic greatness, the Congress so far has not advanced the Kennedy Administration beyond the point of standing still."



Justus in The Minneapolis Star

"You Back Already?"

This strikes us as somewhat harsh, although surely a more accurate judgment than the Administration's own estimate of its achievements. The record reveals a number of notable advances. On the home front, Congress enacted the most comprehensive housing program in history, increased minimum wage rates and broadened coverage of the law to include 3,600,000 additional workers, liberalized social security, extended unemployment insurance benefits, approved a program for relief of depressed areas, and provided for water pollution control.

* * *

In the field of foreign affairs, Congress created a semi-autonomous Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, approved legal status and a $40,000,000 fund for the Peace Corps, provided $500,000,000 to implement the Alliance for Progress with Latin America, and passed a revised, consolidated foreign economic aid program which emphasizes development loans instead of grants, long-term planning, and the need for recipient nations to help themselves. In this last case, however, Congress struck out the heart of the new program—the Administration's request to finance development lending programs for five years through Treasury financing.

Taken together, these enactments by the first session represent a measure of modest progress, but so modest that it seems more like what we might have expected from a Lyndon Johnson Administration than a Kennedy Administration. As the ADA rightly pointed out, most of the measures approved were mere extensions of earlier programs and broke no ground for a New Frontier. Even *The Wall Street Journal,* which shudders at the prospect of being hauled to any new frontier, found the legislative program "spotty" and "stunted" and lacking in "dramatic new departures."

Accommodation and compromise governed White House handling of its legislative program. There was no fight and little leadership. The President made no effort to carry his case to the country. Although generously endowed with creative brainpower, the Administration revealed itself singularly lacking in the kind of purposeful drive that attracts followers and gets things done.

Thus, in three areas of legislation in which so much was expected of the Kennedy Administration because of its campaign commitments, its failure was complete. It wavered fatally in the midst of the struggle over Federal aid to education. It was silent when a House committee refused to act on the much promised program of medical care for the aged. It surrendered altogether in the field of civil rights legislation by proclaiming that it wanted no action on that issue during the session—although it must be said, to its everlasting credit, that the Administration achieved some superb results in breaching racial barriers through executive action.

Defenders of the Kennedy Administration are quick to respond to critical judgments of this kind. They argue that the President felt the need to proceed cautiously because 1) his margin of victory last November was so slim; 2) he has been obliged by the greatly intensified pressures of the cold war to devote increasingly more time and energy to the daily demands of foreign affairs; 3) he thought he could win wider Congressional approval of his foreign policy decisions, which he felt were more compelling, if he refrained from alienating powerful conservative forces on domestic issues; 4) he was confronted by the hard fact of the Republican-Dixie Democratic coalition, especially in the House of Representatives, and felt, as a consequence, he could hope to get a little, which is better than nothing, if he didn't demand too much.

Some of this is pretty persuasive stuff. It helps explain why Mr. Kennedy did what he did, or didn't do what he didn't do, and achieved so much less than he had said he wanted. But what baffles and disturbs us is that, instead of recognizing the magnitude of the setback and marshaling its forces for a real fight when Congress reconvenes in January, the Administration is behaving as though the battle has been won. The Sorenson-O'Brien chart jubilantly showing a three-to-one superiority over the first F.D.R. Congress and the news that Mr. Kennedy is "as happy as he can be" over the legislative record of the first session do little to fortify our faith that he is prepared, when the second session of Congress convenes, to "get the country moving again" toward that New Frontier to which he beckoned us a year ago. The hope for more basic action next year will rise as Mr. Kennedy's happiness with this year's performance declines.

NOTES in the NEWS

'A Magnificent Presentation'

We confess to considerable fluctuation of mood over President Kennedy's conduct of foreign affairs. There have been moments when we were convinced that he had chained himself to the most sterile and self-defeating of the Eisenhower-Dulles policies, but there have been moments, too, when we were confident that he was breaking with the worst of the past and embarking on a more hopeful and creative course. It is the latter mood that has been in the ascendancy during the fortnight before this issue of *The Progressive* went to press.

Mr. Kennedy's address to the United Nations Assembly was a magnificent presentation. It recaptured some of the greatness and rekindled some of the fire of his Inaugural Address. It rang with affirmative challenge—the challenge to complete and universal disarmament, to build a stronger and more effective United Nations, to settle conflicts through honorable negotiation, and to assist the underdeveloped areas of the world through cooperative action. We admit to suffering a slight relapse when the Administration came forward with its specific proposals to implement the President's eloquent plea for general disarmament, but the glow of the overall message persisted.

"Mankind must put an end to war," the President said, "or war will put an end to mankind." He seemed to be speaking to the Pentagon no less than to the Kremlin when he warned that "the risks inherent in disarmament pale in comparison to the risks inherent in an unlimited arms race." Regarding the crisis over Berlin, Mr. Kennedy reaffirmed the nation's determination not to abandon its "vital interests and deep commitments," but he went on to emphasize that "we are committed to no rigid formula. We see no perfect solution. . . . But we believe a peaceful agreement is possible which protects the freedom of West Berlin and Allied presence and access, while recognizing the historic and legitimate interests of others in assuring European security."

The President's Problem

The sentence in the Chief Executive's address that struck us as especially revealing and significant in illuminating the domestic problem that confronts him in the conduct of foreign affairs was this one: "Men no longer pretend that the quest for disarmament is a sign of weakness—for in a spiraling arms race, a nation's security may well be shrinking even as its arms increase." His need to protest that the pursuit of disarmament is "not "a sign of weakness" shows how sensitive he is to the strident clamor in some quarters at home against any policy that does not embody total intransigence toward the Soviets.

James A. Wechsler, the brilliant editor of the New York *Post,* recently returned from a visit with the President to emphasize this point. Mr. Kennedy, he reported, "has no simple-minded view that the deep discords of our time can be deftly and finally resolved by diplomatic gamesmanship. He is aware that any honorable settlements he may negotiate will subject him to know-nothing cries of 'appeasement.' He is genuinely disturbed by the frustrated fury of many of his countrymen who believe our national manhood can be affirmed only by some act of bloody bluster."

The mood that demands some act of bloody bluster is often expressed in such publications as *Time* and the Chicago *Tribune*. More recently it turned up in a highly agitated if somewhat incomprehensible editorial in *The Reporter*. We don't know if we succeeded in penetrating Editor Max Ascoli's obscure prose, but we came away from a reading of the editorial with the conclusion that he views the Kennedy Administration's foreign policy as pretty spineless stuff because it exhausts itself in "verbal formulation" instead of "action."

Thus, we are told that "if we act quickly and firmly when the Communists do something like the walling of Berlin, then they will not just stop; they will fall back." The exhortation to act ends there; there is nothing in the editorial to suggest what we might have done or could do now to demolish that wall in Soviet-controlled East Berlin short of triggering all-out war. The idea seems to be to "do something"—anything—whatever the consequences.

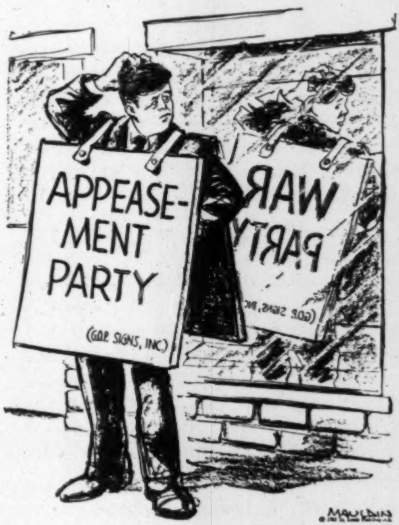
Why didn't the Kennedy Administration "act" when the wall went up between East and West Berlin? Ascoli's interpretation is that the President was afraid—not afraid of the Russians, or the possibility of provoking war, mind you, but afraid that a policy of action would succeed. You may think we are exaggerating, or perhaps baffled by the subtleties of Ascoli's syntax. But this is what the man said:

". . . presumably one of the reasons why the Administration did not lift a finger against East Germany when the wall was erected may have been the dread that any action on our part against that wretched government might have risked succeeding."

Sound Ground

The Kennedy Administration's current quest for a negotiated settlement of the issues of Berlin and Germany will doubtless prove to be a long and painful process. No miracles are in sight, nor is there any prospect, as President Kennedy said, for a perfect solution. But patience and persistence, no matter how great the provocations from the Soviets or how loud the clamor at home to "do something," hold out the greatest hope to achieve a settlement that would preserve our national honor *and* world peace.

It is imperative, it seems to us, for the President to exercise more sustained and effective leadership in carrying the issues to the people. He could do much, for example, to combat the treacherously unreliable oversimplifications of most of the press if he talked to the nation in a series of fireside chats. National acceptance of a negotiated settlement, no matter how honorable, will be gravely jeopardized unless he talks sense to the people now—over the heads of a trigger-happy press and a political opposition bent on branding him an "appeaser" who is "soft on Communism."



Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Sandwiched

Mr. Kennedy was on sound ground when he said, in his recent speech at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, that it is impossible to encompass worldwide policies in these complicated times "in one slogan, or one adjective, hard or soft or otherwise." It is also impossible, he said, "to believe we shall soon meet total victory or total defeat." Peace and freedom can prevail, he asserted, "if we can do our duty undeterred by fanatics or frenzy at home or abroad." There is a world of sense in these reflections, delivered in the typically clipped Kennedy manner. A series of speeches developing these concepts could do much to educate the country to an understanding of the magnitude of the problems he faces and the character of the course he must pursue to meet them.

Sense in the Pentagon

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, who has been steadily forging to the front as one of the ablest members of President Kennedy's Cabinet, earned the applause of all thoughtful Americans, whatever their political or ideological indentification, when he ruled recently that the military establishment must stay out of non-military affairs.

In a sweeping revision and clarification of a secret directive adopted by the National Security Council in 1958, McNamara forbade civilian and military officials to express politically partisan views at meetings sponsored by non-governmental groups, decreed that they may speak only on subjects within the cognizance of the Defense Department, ordered them to limit their expression of views to those that are "in accord with established national policy," and required them not to "lend an air of sponsorship to statements of others which may be either partisan in character or contrary to established national policy."

McNamara's action was a direct consequence of recent revelations that military personnel and organizations were becoming increasingly involved in the politics of the radical Right, so much so that, in the name of "fighting Communism," they were equating democratic social reform with Marxism and negotiation with appeasement. The military establishment has no business, under our system, to engage in political indoctrination, whether Right, Left, or Center, and Secretary McNamara's new directive, if scrupulously enforced, should do much to lift the Pentagon out of politics.

The Walker Case

One of the most flagrant cases of political indoctrination within the Army involved Major General Edwin A. Walker, then commander of the Twenty-fourth Infantry Division in West Germany. When he was relieved of his command, the politicians and press of the radical Right denounced the Administration for "gagging a great patriot" whose "only crime" was that he was a "zealous anti-Communist."

Facts recently revealed—but little publicized—tell a sharply different story. A member of the John Birch Society, Walker sought to influence his troops and their families to vote for candidates on the far Right. And whether Right or Left, it is unlawful for a man in his position to engage in political activity.

Walker, according to the 973-page transcript of the Army hearings, advised the men under his command and their families to consult the "ACA Index" before voting in Congressional elections last fall. The ACA Index is published by Americans for Constitutional Action, an organization so far to the Right that it equates social security with Communism.

The ACA Index to which Walker referred his forces rated John F. Kennedy, then a Senator, as having been right only eleven per cent of the time on Senate roll calls. Lyndon Johnson scored ten per cent, Senator Hubert Humphrey managed only one per cent, as did Senator Henry M. Jackson. On the other hand, Senator Barry Goldwater scored ninety-eight per cent, and Senators Styles Bridges and Harry Byrd, ninety-two per cent. Chester Bowles, incidentally, then a Congressman, rated zero on the scorecard Walker was urging his men to read and be guided by.

Our basic quarrel with General Walker, and the others like him, is not his *choice* of material designed to indoctrinate his troops, wrong though we think that choice is. He has no right, under law or custom, to persuade his men to *any* political position in an election campaign. To tolerate such conduct on the part of a commanding officer is to abandon the democratic American concept of the supremacy of the civil establishment over the military.

The Seminars

The conduct of characters like General Walker has not been the only means by which the military establishment has sought to influence and dominate domestic politics and foreign policy. On a number of occasions since 1958 the armed forces have collaborated with private or quasi-public organizations in sponsoring seminars on "anti-communism" which, in practice, have turned out to be political rallies dedicated, again, to promoting the position of the radical Right.

One of the most shocking examples was on display recently in San Antonio, Texas, where the Fourth Army joined forces with the Junior Chamber of Commerce in promoting a two-day-seminar entitled "Let's Look at America." Army reservists in the area were given point credits for attending the sessions. The public was invited. This is what they heard:

¶ General A. C. Wedemeyer denounced the Kennedy Administration for "appeasing" Soviet Russia, lashed out at "pro-Communist" influences in the State Department, attacked the Episcopalian clergy for supporting the Freedom Rides, and vilified liberalism as un-American. Regarding the new nations of Africa, the General said it was "unfortunate" they were admitted to the United Nations since "they can contribute nothing to it."

¶ Donald Jackson, a former Congressman from California and onetime member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, began his address by saying, "I'm so non-partisan I don't care which Republican you elect to Congress," and concluded by calling for a book-burning campaign to rid schools of what he called textbooks that mold children into Communist patterns.

¶ R. B. Thieme, a colonel in the Air Force Reserve and pastor of the non-denominational Berachah Church in Houston, told the audience that the Communist strategy was to employ psychology, mysticism, and liberal cults to discredit the Bible and religion, destroy marriage and the family, promote ugly, futuristic art and music, create unrest among workers, and undermine all patriotism. The answer, he seemed to say, was more patriots like General Walker.

It is drivel of this kind that McNamara's recent order is intended to banish from the military establishment. Great credit for the revision of the Defense Department's directive belongs to Senator William Fulbright, Arkansas Democrat and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It was he who courageously called the government's and the nation's attention to the outrageously partisan character of programs allegedly designed to alert the armed forces and the country to "the menace of Communism." And he stood largely alone. It is one of the saddest commentaries on our times that when Senator Fulbright was being pilloried in the Senate by such radical Rightists as Senators Thurmond, Barry Goldwater, and Styles Bridges, the liberal bloc in the Senate sat silent.

Hope in a Shelter

One of the more significant phenomena of the day is the sudden and soaring public interest in family fallout shelters, amid a commotion of contradictory reports and recommendations that has led to guilt, confusion, and uncertainty among genuinely concerned citizens.

The sudden interest in shelters is striking because for ten years the public's response to civil defense has been almost wholly nil or negative. This was partly the fault of civil defense officials themselves, who earned little more than apathy or contempt with their confused programs which vacillated back and forth between an obviously impractical mass exodus from cities to hiding in cellars. At one point, when a civil defense official was asked which to do, he replied, "Both."

The upsurge in interest in a home shelter program followed closely the greatly heightened tensions created by the Berlin crisis, the calling to duty of National Guard units and reservists, the Soviets' resumption of atmospheric nuclear testing, plus a new sense of urgency resulting from the moving of most civil defense functions to the Defense Department, and President Kennedy's vigorous endorsement of the shelter program. Probably no one of these factors would in itself have produced such a sharp change in public attitude, but taken together, in a brief span of time, they greatly intensified the growing concern of a troubled people.

Now that the shelter program has finally found some degree of public acceptance, it is being pressed eagerly by those who see a golden opportunity to make people feel the H-bomb isn't so bad after all. Dr. Edward Teller, the "father of the H-bomb," cheerfully claimed in a nationally syndicated series of articles that fallout shelters would save ninety out of a hundred victims of a nuclear attack. *Life* magazine raised Teller's ante and irresponsibly headlined on a recent cover, *"Ninety-seven out of one hundred people can be saved . . ."* At the same time, however, a respected scientist on the staff of the Atomic Energy Commission described fallout shelters as only a means of delaying death, but the press paid little attention.

Life's Claim

It is important to understand that the fallout shelter program now mushrooming is designed for protection against *local* fallout resulting from a nuclear explosion at or near ground level, as distinct from the world-wide fallout which has been the target of the international campaign against nuclear testing in the past decade. Local fallout is infinitely more deadly. Within minutes following an explosion it begins raining down, in the form of a fine or invisible dust or ash, on the area surrounding and downwind from the explosion, an area which might vary, with bombs of the same size, from two thousand to thirty thousand or more square miles, depending on wind direction and velocity.

All scientists agree that it is possible to build a shelter that can offer protection of as much as ninety-nine per cent against local, short-term fallout. It is because the radioactivity of fallout decays in fourteen days to about one per cent of its peak strength that a shelter stay of two weeks is stressed.

But there are factors which have been soft-pedaled in the current enthusiasm for home shelters that cast grave doubts on the optimism of those backing the program.

Life, for example, modified its own cover claim in the smaller print of the text by revealing that the ninety-seven "saved" figure was based on optimum conditions—the attack would come at night, everyone would be at home, there would be sufficient warning, and the prepared shelter would provide entirely adequate protection. Further on in the article, in recommending a particular basement shelter, *Life* issues "One word of warning: if a nuclear warhead should hit within ten to fifteen miles of you, the house might catch on fire or be blown down around you. For this reason some people prefer to place their shelter outside, as far from the house as possible."

Life did not enlarge upon this warning, but if it had it might have pointed out that an area with a radius of fifteen miles is equal to 700 square miles. This is more than half again the area of Los Angeles, the largest city in area in the United States; it is twice the size of greater New York City; and three times the area of Chicago. Washington, D.C., and St. Louis, Missouri, are each sixty-one square miles in area. Even an area of ten-mile radius is larger than any American city except Los Angeles.

Dr. James E. McDonald of the University of Arizona's Institute of Atmospheric Physics has prepared a layman's analysis of the Atomic Energy Commission's highly technical report, *The Effects of Nuclear Weapons*, which pictures in vivid detail the results of the explosion at ground level of a twenty-megaton weapon, the size presumed in the AEC report. (A twenty-megaton bomb is a thousand times as powerful as the Hiroshima "baby" bomb, and is equal to twenty million tons of TNT, more than all the explosives used in World War II.)

All frame and brick houses within a radius of eight miles would be *totally destroyed* by the shock wave and tornado-like winds generated by the blast, Dr. McDonald noted. Most homes more than eight but within seventeen miles of the blast would be rendered uninhabitable. Ninety per cent of trees and utility poles out to thirteen miles would be knocked flat. All this, he observed, would happen within one minute following an explosion.

Hell on Earth

The intensity of the heat from the fireball, emitted at the speed of light, is such that within twenty seconds inflammable materials would be ignited as far out as seventeen miles. Any persons caught in the open at that distance or even for some miles beyond would receive third-degree burns. "It is relevant to recall," Dr. McDonald noted, "that about a third of the World War II Japanese A-bomb fatalities resulted from such flash burns from air bursts emitting only a thousandth of the radiation of the twenty-megaton weapon considered here."

A shelter will effectively shield a person from flash burns, but there is no way to shield buildings and trees.

Lest anyone think American cities are not so vulnerable to fire as were the Japanese cities, a U.S. Civil Defense survey has revealed that the material in structures that make up our cities ranges from more than ninety-nine per cent combustible in San Francisco, to a *low* of 96.4 per cent in Washington, D.C. In the more densely populated cities, "fire storms" of the kind that consumed Tokyo and Hamburg and Dresden and Leipzig in World War II would be almost inevitable, asphyxiating and then cremating anyone in a bomb shelter below. In a recent paper exercise involving a hypothetical nuclear attack on the western part of the United States, it was concluded that even in a city as open as Los Angeles, which would probably not develop a "fire storm," the resultant conflagration "would burn at will from ocean to the desert," an area of several thousand square miles.

No Safety in Numbers

All these predictions are based on the explosion of a twenty-megaton bomb at ground level, which produces maximum local fallout, but minimizes blast and fire effects. An air burst produces much less local fallout, but blast and fire effects are intensified and are therefore more likely to be used by the enemy if the purpose of the attack is to destroy military and industrial sites—property—rather than people. Dr. A. Broido, a fire specialist with the U.S. Forest Service who made a recent study of the fire effects of nuclear weapons for the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* determined that a bomb of only *ten* megatons in size exploded in the air could ignite fires out to thirty-five miles; the circular area of instantaneous ignition would be almost 4,000 square miles.

When Nikita Khrushchev boasted recently of plans to develop a 100-megaton bomb, the boast was widely discredited as propaganada. There is no need for such a bomb, said many experts and most pundits, because twenty megatons is enough to destroy a city. But physicist Ralph Lapp had pointed out two years earlier that if the enemy were aiming for the underground "hardened" ICBM sites—many of which are on the outskirts of cities—present missile accuracies would dictate the use of enemy weapons of well over twenty megatons in order to insure the destruction of the missile bases, and that "100-megatons is not too much from an aggressor's standpoint."

Death Delayed

There is still a chance that one might survive in a fallout shelter, especially if it were far enough removed from the site of the blast. But what happens after the fallout has dissipated its lethal dosages, and a family emerges into an uninhabitable and contaminated desert, devoid of civil order, heat, light, food, and water?

Dr. John M. Wolfe, chief of the environmental sciences branch and director of biology and medicine for the Atomic Energy Commission, has made a careful study of that problem. In a symposium at Colorado State University on the way living creatures, including man, get along in their environment, Dr. Wolfe, a specialist in the problem of man's survival, made application of his formidable scientific background to the totally new equation of nuclear war. This scientist's words cannot be dismissed lightly.

"The effects of nuclear war on man and his environment are awesome to contemplate," he reported. "Thermal and blast effects, and concomitant radiation, would create vast areas that would be useless to the survival of man . . .

"Fallout shelters in many areas seem only a means of delaying death and represent only a part of a survival plan. With an environment so completely modified, the question is, where does man go after his sojourn in shelters? What does he do upon emergence?"

These questions go to the heart of the problem. Unless we face them squarely, we are in danger of deluding ourselves into the cozy notion that in making a minimum response to a forbiddingly formidable problem we have found an acceptably safe answer to nuclear war. There is still no place to hide.

Population and Aid

Recent passage of a new and more ambitious foreign aid program has been accompanied by a deepening concern that the force of much of our aid may be diluted if not nullified unless constructive steps are taken soon to cope with the soaring curve of population growth in the poverty-stricken, underdeveloped areas of the world.

As a result of triumphs of modern medicine and sanitation in reducing infant mortality, prolonging life, and wiping out diseases like malaria, the human family, the United Nations reported recently, is increasing at the staggering rate of 500 million persons in this decade—or more than the total number of people now living in Soviet Russia, the United States, Great Britain, and France combined. The social and economic impact of this unprecedented population explosion is felt most critically, of course, in the poorest nations on earth.

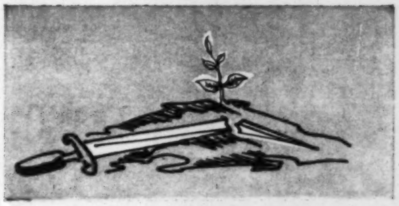
In India, for example, the rate of population growth in this decade is sixty-one per cent faster than it was in the preceding decade. The consequences, in terms of the effect of American foreign aid, were frankly stated recently by Ambassador Chagla of India when he said:

"We have received from the United States foreign aid to the extent of three billion dollars since our independence. It was a generous gesture on the part of this country. It was also wise and statesmanlike because you realized the importance of economic advance in India in a democratic system. India was trying to demonstrate to the world that a poor, underdeveloped country can become prosperous without sacrificing freedom or democratic institutions. *But the effect of this aid is, to a large extent, being nullified by the increase in population."*

President Ayub Khan of Pakistan was even more emphatic on his recent visit to the United States. "If our population continues to increase at the present rate," he said, "it will ultimately lead to a standard of living which will be little better than that of animals."

From his vantage post as president of the World Bank, where he must deal first-hand with the urgent problems of the impoverished nations, Eugene R. Black recently reported to the United Nations Economic and Social Council: "Population growth threatens to nullify all our efforts to raise living standards in the poorer countries. Unless population growth can be restrained, we may have to abandon for this generation our hopes of economic progress in the crowded lands of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East."

In 1959, the Draper Committee, composed of distinguished Americans, reported to President Eisenhower that "no realistic discussion of economic development can fail to note that development efforts in many areas of the world are being offset by increasingly rapid population growth." The Committee recommended that the United States provide, *if and when requested,* assistance in population planning to countries where we are providing economic aid. This, it seems to us, is a sound and affirmative approach to a difficult and delicate problem. Failure to take this modest step places the entire foreign economic aid program, and the hopes we have bound up in it, in grave jeopardy.



THE CHOICE IN EUROPE

by ERICH FROMM

At the time World War I had come to an end, Europe as a whole seemed to be on the decline. Germany, economically the strongest power, was thoroughly defeated. Russia had been ravaged by the war and by internal strife. Yet by 1938 Germany had overcome the results of her defeat, and the Soviet Union had started on the road toward becoming a first class industrial power. Britain, and, to an even greater degree, France had not been able to stem the tide of change in European leadership, a tide which had been swelling from the 1890's to 1914. For example, steel production in 1913 in Britain was 7,787,000 tons; in Germany 15,599,000. In 1920 steel production in both countries was about equal, at 9,000,000 tons. By 1938 German steel production was more than double that of the United Kingdom.

But the chance for an economic and political renaissance of Europe seemed even more irretrievably lost after World War II. Germany was half destroyed, and the victors agreed that they would prevent her from rising again as a powerful nation. Europe was further weakened by the postwar colonial revolution which deprived the European powers of most of their overseas possessions. It seemed clear that Europe had ceased to be the center of the world's stage; economic and military power had passed to the United States and to the Soviet Union.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's foreign policy was based on this assumption. Mr. Roosevelt, and presumably Josef Stalin, intended to transform the wartime alliance into a lasting political compact, hoping to stabilize the world, and to create a lasting peace under joint American-Soviet leadership, with Europe in a secondary role.

But shortly after the war ended, this new alliance began to crumble; the cold war began. Whatever the causes (undoubtedly mutual misunderstandings and suspicions played a considerable role), the result was the development of Western fears of a Russian attack on Western Europe, and the consequent launching of efforts to organize a defense against such an attack. In contrast to the agreements of Potsdam and to the postwar mood of the German people, West Germany was encouraged to rearm, and eventually to enter NATO. Something else happened in West Germany: the "*Wirtschaftswunder.*" Only a few years after a war which had destroyed half her cities and a peace which had deprived her of one third of her territory, Germany—now "West Germany"—began to rise again, just as she did after World War I, and became economically the most prosperous, and militarily the strongest, power in Europe, with the sole exception of the Soviet Union.

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These new conditions created new opportunities for Europe. If her traditional political rivalries could be overcome, if her trade barriers were abolished, a United States of Europe, an area with more than 300,000,000 people, with vast natural resources, and with a highly disciplined and skilled working class, could be organized as a power equalling in strength, or even superior to, the United States or the Soviet Union. Europe might blossom again as a great power, provided it was a united Europe.

* * *

Unification of Western Europe began with the integration of military forces for defensive purposes. It proceeded to the formation of the Common Market, a vast economic alliance excluding only Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal. The economic success of the Common Market is fabulous. In 1959-60 the increase in its combined production was twelve per cent, while that of Britain was only 6.5 per cent; the Common Market's exports were four times those of the United Kingdom. From economic unification, the Common Market countries have begun to proceed toward political unification. While it is not planned, at the moment, to abolish national sovereignties, a common and unified foreign policy is clearly the next step, which could lead in a few years to the formation of a Federated Europe, and, perhaps ultimately, to a United States of Europe.

This new development seems to be desirable in many ways. Of first importance, it gradually does away with national rivalries, especially French-German rivalry, which has led to three major wars within seventy years. It permits most of Europe an economic development blocked by the antiquated structure of separate national markets; eventually, it would seem to create a new multi-national power, allied with the United States, and thus an important addition to U.S. defensive strength.

No doubt economic unification of Europe is desirable, and it is so logical from an economic standpoint that it can not be opposed. Even political unification of Western Europe may be desirable. The central questions are:

What will be the face of this New Europe?

Which power, or powers, will be its head and provide the dominating influence?

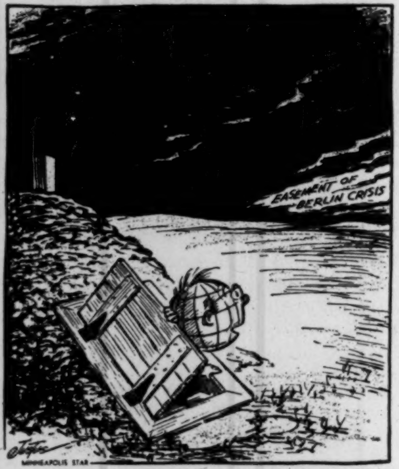
Today, West Germany is the dominant power. The economic potential inherent in the German industrial organization, which has proved to be a factor stronger than two military and political defeats, has not lost its momentum. West Germany has resumed the trend of economic growth at the same rapid rate as in the beginning of its flowering as an industrial nation about seventy years ago. In addition, Germany still has the same military tradition which, together with her industrial potential, created the dynamic mixture which led to explosions in 1914 and 1939. Today, even though the social basis for the Junker class has disappeared, the military tradition has not; the generals who were loyal to Hitler are coöperating with those who helped to organize the 1944 plot to destroy him personally, united in their attempts to create again a militarily strong Germany. West Germany is now, economically and militarily, the strongest power in the Common Market. It is supported by the United States, which is shifting its position from reliance on Britain as its most important ally to dependence upon the Federal Republic. France, led by a gifted but romantic general, is concerned with her *gloire* and the preservation of the remnants of her African Empire; the majority of Frenchmen may even prefer junior partnership in the New Europe, rather than expose themselves to a third and more formidable attack by a rearmed Germany. Have not the French already accepted Charles de Gaulle as their protector, and by that decision renounced some fundamental features of their democratic tradition?

The Germans, in their turn, are realizing a goal which both the Kaiser and Hitler failed to achieve. German economic expansion and a dominating role in Europe were the aims of both the first and second World Wars. Twice the Germans failed because their generals and politicians did not perceive that they could not win a war in which the most powerful country in the world, the United States, would join Germany's chosen enemies. This time the United States is on Germany's side, and they both have a common enemy—the Soviet Union. The new language speaks of "a unified Europe with an integrated Germany," instead of the old language which spoke of *"Deutschland uber Alles!"*

* * *

Given all these premises, why is not even a German-led and dominated New Europe a high-road toward achieving the interests of the United States, and even of world peace? This question leads us to the heart of the problem. Germany was not only defeated in the last war; she also lost a large part of her territory and population—East Germany, Silesia, East Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine, Austria, Sudetenland. German nationalism and the clamor for the return of the "stolen territories" has become not less but greater with the growth of German strength. The German federal government has explicitly declared many times that it does not recognize the borders fixed provisionally in 1945. The stronger West Germany becomes as the head of a federated Europe, the more aggressive will be her irredentist demands for the recovery of the former German territories. Since, on the other hand, the Soviet Union is not, and will not be, ready to relinquish any of her postwar conquests, she has grounds to fear increasing German strength. Hence the arms race will continue with the increasing likelihood of an evermore destructive nuclear war.

The United States-German alliance (or, rather, the United States-German-led European alliance) undoubtedly adds to American military strength. But there is danger in an alliance with a country which is developing a growing desire to recoup her lost territories. It binds the United States to a nation which has twice gambled on victory with at least her own population at stake, and which is gambling again on victory, this time with the life of the whole of humanity at stake. Is the addition to the defense of the United States as valuable as the threat to peace is dangerous? Is the threat from the Soviet Union as real as is the threat to peace by our new ally?



Justus in The Minneapolis Star

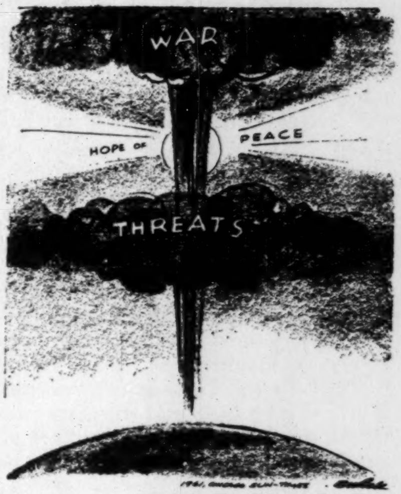
Coming Up for A Breath of Fresh Air

Several objections may be made to this analysis. The first is that Germany has peaceful intentions and has declared that it will not try to reconquer the lost territories by force. This argument carries little conviction. Historical events are not determined by even the honest intentions of a political leader speaking here and now, but by inherent historical trends, which change the language of the leaders. West German Defense Minister Franz-Josef Strauss speaks a much more crude and aggressive language than does Chancellor Konrad Adenauer—a language which has changed within a few years from a position opposing any arms at all to the assertion that Germany cannot defend herself without nuclear weapons. What will Strauss' language be when Germany is still stronger? What will be the language of his successor?

Another argument against the pessimistic evaluation of a new German-dominated Europe, depends upon the assumption that Germany would be curbed by her allies, especially France and Italy. This argument is not convincing. It ignores the hard fact that in an alliance the economically—and hence militarily—strongest partner dominates the weaker ones, and that it takes only cleverly-used ideology to hide such domination. (In Roman law such alliances were called *"societas leonina,"* a society formed by a weaker animal with a lion.) Italy is notoriously weak economically and militarily. France is much weaker than Germany, even when combined with Belgium and the Netherlands. France and Belgium have colonial interests in Africa for which they not only need German political support, but the defense of which makes France practically nonexistent as a military power on the continent.

* * *

There remains one last hope: If Britain would join the Common Market, she, together with Italy and Holland, could form an effective counter-balance to German domination. This hope, however, seems to neglect certain fundamental facts. Today Britain finds herself in a position which is economically vastly inferior to that of the Common Market powers. If Britain now enters the Common Market as an inferior ally in the throes of economic difficulties, the Adenauer-de Gaulle axis will set the conditions for her admission. These conditions will be not only economic but political. The principal one might be that Britain give up her role as a mediator between East and West, and join without reserve the anti-Communist crusade led by Germany and France. But even if this were not the condition for Britain's admission, what will become of her political independence when the Common Market has become a political as well as an economic unit? Can one expect that an economically weakened Britain will be able to check the German-French nationalist-and-reactionary bloc in the New Europe?



Burck in The Chicago Sun-Times

Trying to Come Out

Considering the need for European economic unification, considering that this unification is taking place under the leadership of an irredentist, expansionist West Germany, and is thus speeding up the arms race, the question is whether anything can be done to change an obviously dangerous course.

There are reasons to believe that such a change could be effected if Britain, instead of Germany, became the effective leader of a New Europe. What are the conditions for such a new development?

* * *

One—It would require that the United States return to her traditional position of considering Britain her main ally. It would mean ending a situation where—in reality, although not in formal language—the United States has exchanged its friendship with a weakened Britain for a friendship with a strong Germany. Because political power depends upon economic power, turning back to Britain would require a close U.S.-British economic collaboration that would permit Britain to overcome her economic difficulties.

Two—A new Europe led by Britain, the Scandinavian countries, and Holland would be a democratic Europe. Britain is the only reliable democracy among the big powers in Europe. Anyone who, instead of mistaking words for realities, is sensitive to trends which occur behind those words, observes in Germany a mood of nationalism, suspicion, and fear, reminiscent of the last pre-Hitler years. The growing acceptance of the Adenauer-Strauss course is dramatically revealed by the political opposition: the Brandt-led majority of the Social-Democratic Party, seeking success by imitating the Adenauer line, sometimes even outshouting Adenauer in the shrillness of aggressively nationalistic speeches.

A German-French-led New Europe would be a reactionary, totalitarian Europe. We talk about the protection of freedom, yet we support the formation of a militaristic, totalitarian new Europe, while the Russian Communist bloc, since Stalin's death, is moving in the direction of liberalization. The support of the present German-led new Europe would in the long run lead to an increase of strength of those reactionary, totalitarian tendencies within the United States—which are rallying strength even now under the banner of anti-Communism. A British-led new Europe would support not only the democratic forces within Germany and the rest of Europe: Such a policy would also avert the danger of growing totalitarianism within the United States.

Three—Another aspect of the nature of the new Europe is the difference between Britain, on the one hand, and France and Belgium, on the other, with regard to their colonial possessions. Britain, in spite of the Suez adventure, has an excellent record in Asia and in Africa of having accepted the realities of the colonial movement toward political independence. Britain, together with the United States, are the only two great Western powers which are free to conduct a non-colonialist policy, and thus to stem the tendencies which have sometimes seemed to make Russia—and, even more, China—the natural leaders of the colonial revolution. France, and Belgium (like Portugal), on the other hand, follow an intransigent colonial policy, one which fosters increasing aggressiveness in the leaders of the national revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Four—A British-led new Europe is possible only if Germany is blocked in her rearmament. Even now it is questionable whether Germany could be stopped, considering the military force she has already acquired. But she does not have nuclear weapons yet, and she certainly could be prevented from acquiring any, even under the formula of a NATO- or United States-controlled "key." Furthermore, the military restrictions decided upon after the last war could be *enforced,* rather than continuously relaxed. Eventually, one could imagine that the United States, together with Britain and the Soviet Union, could enforce the demilitarization of West and East Germany, and create a neutralized Germany, even if unification is ruled out for the immediate future.

Five—The neutralization of Germany is possible only if the United States arrives at an understanding with the Soviet Union and ends the cold war. This is not the place to offer the considerable evidence for the thesis that Nikita Khrushchev needs and wants peace, that he is afraid of a nuclear-armed Germany, that he is afraid of China, and that he is attempting to resume American-Soviet cooperation as it existed before the outbreak of the cold war. Even if he were willing to give up his sphere of interest in Central Europe, he cannot at the moment relinquish any territory acquired by Josef Stalin without losing his political position. There is no way to end the arms race at the moment other than by American-British-French recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as part of a peace treaty with East and West Germany which stabilizes the *status quo.* This poses an almost insoluably difficult problem for all genuine friends of freedom, yet any other course would lead to the destruction, rather than to the liberation, of Central Europe.

In summary, I suggest a return to the F.D.R. policy of a firm alliance with Britain, and the pursuit of a peaceful *modus vivendi* with the Soviet Union. Such a policy, implemented by military neutralization of *both* Germanies, and followed by universal disarmament, would strengthen the democratic forces in Western Europe and the United States, reduce the danger of an aggressive China, and offer hope of ending the fatal arms race. An economically vigorous, democratic new Europe, with no ambitions to hold its colonial possessions or to regain lost territories, could become one of the world's strongest forces for peace and democracy.

The First Phase of the New Frontier

by WILLIAM V. SHANNON

PERHAPS nothing has done a greater disservice to the Kennedy Administration than its own slogan, "the New Frontier." It has the initial flaw of obscurity; John F. Kennedy, both as candidate and President, has variously defined it as the challenge posed by new problems, a program to meet those problems, and the spirit in which Americans are to respond to the challenge. But worse, the phrase, with its implicit suggestion of dramatic initiatives and a sharp break with the past, arouses false hopes and distracts attention from both the problems the new Administration faces and the way in which it proposes to meet them.

If the first phase of the Kennedy Administration demonstrates anything, it demonstrates there are no new problems and no essentially new ways of meeting the old ones. Elections occur, Presidents come and go, but the three fundamental problems confronting American statesmen remain stubbornly what they were sixteen years ago when the United States emerged from World War II into the cold war: how to contain the outward thrust of Soviet imperialism, how to bring the underdeveloped countries out of the past without subjecting them to the rigors of totalitarian tyranny, and how to manage our industrial economy, the foundation of the nation's wealth and power, without inflation or depression.

Because of a stale tradition in American politics (the New Nationalism, the New Freedom, the New Deal, the New America, not to mention Modern Republicanism and the Great Crusade), candidate Kennedy unfortunately felt that he, too, needed a catchword that would connote newness, modernity, action. It would have been more honest and more educational for his fellow citizens if he had frankly avowed that the problems were old and stubborn, that he had no new solutions for them, and

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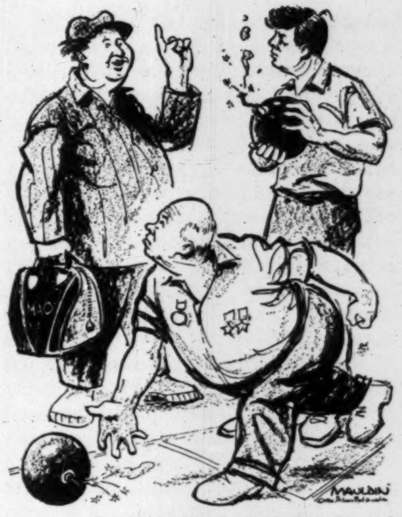
that all he or any man could offer was a vigorous, intelligent effort to cope with them. It may be the final proof of the nation's maturity when by common consent, we, politicians and citizens alike, admit that for nations, as for individuals, problems are not so much solved as managed; there are no new frontiers nor brave new worlds to which we can escape.

The real motif of Kennedy's campaign was Let's get going, Let's get America moving again. This is an aspiration not easily reduced to a satisfactory slogan. Yet it comes closer to expressing what the President and his colleagues essentially represent, which is a fresh access of executive energy, verve, and venturesomeness. There is also a warmer hospitality to ideas and differing viewpoints. But, it is important to note, there has been no fundamental reexamination of the leading ideas in any major area. On the basic issues of the cold war with the Soviet Union, for example, the Kennedy Admininstration has not veered from the concepts developed by George Kennan, Dean Acheson, and others in the 1946-49 period, and pursued further by John Foster Dulles.

Kennedy and his advisers do not think the basic issues of the cold war are negotiable; only a fundamental shift in the nature and dynamism of the Communist empire could make a negotiated settlement practical and durable. For that reason, they have not moved American policy toward agreements on spheres of interest or neutralized zones in Eastern Europe or Asia. They have been unwilling to take any extensive gambles on disarmament. They have not dismantled any military alliances. They have not recognized Communist China. In short, the Kennedy Administration has not taken any of the conceivable initiatives favored by left-wing and neo-pacifist critics of America's postwar foreign policy.

Dean Acheson, one of the founders of NATO, is the President's chief adviser on the revitalization of that alliance. Acheson has also been advising on West Berlin as that crisis re-emerged in the summer of 1961. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, is an Acheson protege. On disarmament matters, the President turned to two veteran members of "the establishment," Arthur Dean, the late John Foster Dulles' law partner, and John McCloy, the former head of the Chase Manhattan Bank. The selection of Dean and McCloy, two eminent Republicans, was dictated primarily by political considerations since the Administration would need Republican assistance to get any disarmament treaty through the Senate, but since the President worked in complete harmony with both men, no grounds exist for believing these politically inspired choices were not also intellectually congenial to him.



Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"I'll Play the Winner"

As his chief staff assistant in foreign affairs, Kennedy chose McGeorge Bundy, the biographer of Henry Stimson and the compiler of Acheson's official papers. His choices for major ambassadorships were equally orthodox: to London, a man who had served as ambassador under both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower; to Paris, a general; and to Rome, a career diplomat.

These appointments are significant only as they underline this Administration's continuity with the past and symbolize its traditional approach to policy making. In the cold war the United States, now as in the previous two Administrations, relies upon the deterrent power of military strength, and upon political alliances, propaganda, and conventional diplomacy.

What is true for the cold war is true also for the problems of the under-developed countries and for the national economy. Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" in Latin America and his Peace Corps take up where Mr. Truman's Marshall Plan and Point Four began, and where Mr. Eisenhower's Inter-American Bank and "atoms for peace" projects left off. Mr. Eisenhower's purposes in the foreign aid field were often savagely undercut by some of his less enlightened subordinates from the business world, but the grand design of his policy in this field was always clear.

Kennedy's handling of the recession that he inherited from the Eisenhower Administration was only moderately more spirited than it would have been if his Republican predecessor had continued in office. The appointment of Douglas Dillon, a holdover from the Eisenhower Administration, as Secretary of the Treasury exemplified Kennedy's cautious, pragmatic approach to economic policy making. He wants to combine the best insights of both liberal, Keynesian thought and orthodox central bank theory, but commit himself to neither.

* * *

To emphasize the basic conservatism of the Kennedy Administration and its many links with the past is not to deny that, within the inherited framework of national policy, this regime represents some interesting shifts in style and outlook.

John Fischer, writing in *Harper's* a dozen years ago, defined the difference between a Roosevelt New Dealer and a Truman Fair Dealer as about thirty pounds. The ulcerous, hot-eyed, skinny intellectuals who were "going to make America over" in the Thirties had given way by the late Forties to paunchy, good-natured courthouse politicians and settled bureaucratic types. That definition would also hold true for the Kennedy men; not everyone may play touch football but this is not a fat man's Administration. More recently, Walter Lippmann suggested the difference between the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations was about thirty years. This is also true; this is very much a young man's Administration.

One of the professors left behind

in Cambridge after Kennedy completed his raid on the Harvard faculty has privately offered still a third definition. "From Eisenhower to Kennedy," he said, "is a shift from the 'gentlemen's C' boys to the Phi Beta Kappas." This is also true. There are, of course, men of brains in every Administration but Kennedy cultivates, admires, and relies upon the men of the intellectual community—the universities, the foundations, and research centers—just as Mr. Eisenhower did the business community. The result is an Administration highly educated and notably literate and articulate.

* * *

Another distinguishing characteristic is political skill. During his rise to the Presidency, Mr. Kennedy never engaged the services of a public relations firm because, as an aide once explained, "They never showed us anything they could do for us that we didn't already know how to do for ourselves." Richard Nixon, ironically, was haunted in the 1960 campaign by the fear of being tagged as the "Madison Avenue candidate," but it was actually his successful opponent who had mastered and assimilated whatever is politically usable in the techniques and insights of Madison Avenue. Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, notwithstanding their dissimilar personalities, were superb natural politicians. Each had an instinct for where his main strength lay and an ease and confidence in handling voters en masse. Kennedy has already developed a comparable poise and assurance; moreover, he stands well above his immediate predecessors in his expert knowledge of the politics of each state, his skill in gaining publicity and cultivating the press, and his adroitness in using the machine politicians for his purposes rather than being used by them for theirs. It seems reasonable to expect on the basis of his career thus far that he will establish himself in the history of the Presidency as a domestic political strategist and party leader rivaling Franklin Roosevelt.

Of all the characteristics that the President and his colleagues possess, ranging from leanness and youth to articulateness and political sophistication, perhaps the single most important one is simply youth. This is a new generation in power. Although there are several men on the White House staff and in the agencies who are still in their early thirties and two or three figures of considerable influence who are past sixty, power, to an extraordinary extent, is wielded by men between the ages of forty and fifty. This means that the top echelon of government has a rather uniform body of experience. It is made up of men old enough to remember clearly the great depression of the Thirties but young enough not to have been scarred permanently by it nor to have any emotional investment in the ideological quarrels of that decade. They are children of the New Deal; Roosevelt and the New Dealers provided, politically speaking, the background of their adolescent and college years. They are men young enough to have served in World War II. They have made their mature careers in the years of the cold war. War and the threat of war, therefore, have become part of the natural fabric of their lives in a way that they are not for the older generation.

The effect of this common experience has been to produce a group of politicians and administrators remarkably moderate, pragmatic, restrained, and low-keyed. Unlike many of the New Dealers of thirty years ago, they have no illusions about remaking America. Crusades are not their style; fanaticism is foreign to them. They are men of power who enjoy high office because they like to run things. They are "inside dopesters" who have an insatiable curiosity about public affairs. (There is no talk in this Administration about public service being a burden, no nostalgia for the joys of private life in Grosse Pointe or Winnetka.) Their approach to politics is managerial and manipulative.

From the President on down, understatement is the prevailing style. This is partly in reaction to the fervor and outsized rhetoric of the Thirties that Mr. Truman warmed over and served up as Fair Deal hash. It is also a carry-over from the war; anyone in military service who boasts about his status in civilian life or, even worse, his deeds in combat is regarded by his fellows as a phony. The close brush with death that President Kennedy and several of his colleagues had during their wartime service has also instilled a certain fatalism. It would not ordinarily occur to officials around the White House to say, "that's how the ball bounces," but some of the fatalism summed up in this expression (originated by G.I.'s during the Korean War) infects the mood of this Administration as, indeed, it does the mood of the entire country.

This fatalism, this emotional reserve, this tendency to downplay and understate does not, however, preclude a ferocious aggressiveness and will to win. It merely modulates and curbs its expression. One highly placed official, not a member of the Kennedy inner circle but handsomely rewarded for his critical help in the Presidential primaries, has remarked privately: "Kennedy is not the kind of leader who strikes sparks or stirs people up, but he does want to win. In the clinches, he's always in there, giving everything he's got."

What has not become clear about the Kennedy Administration in its first phase is the political philosophy and the moral context in which this *expertise* and competitiveness are centered. The politics of those closest to the President, the group sometimes called "the Irish maffia," although the most influential, Theodore Sorenson is a Nebraska Unitarian, is personal, not programmatic. They do not see Mr. Kennedy as an instrument for putting into effect a social program. On the contrary, their first criterion, sometimes their sole criterion, on every important problem is: how will this help "the boss" get reelected in 1964? This preoccupation with the political welfare of John F. Kennedy is not in itself deplorable but it is not a preoccupation that provides any dependable, objectively valid guidelines in making up one's mind about a specific person or problem.

* * *

The Kennedy staff has filled this intellectual vacuum by developing a cult of toughness. Individuals are chosen or rejected quickly, often arbitrarily, on the basis of whether they seem "tough" or "soft." What is wanted are men who can handle their own problems—with Congress, with the press, with other bureaucrats—and not get themselves in trouble or embarrass the President. There is at work here a subtle glorification of the decision-making process as such, independent of the content of the decisions, an exaltation of managerial style over substance. In terms of policies, this cult of toughness provides a built-in bias toward the course that seems most realistic, most clearly grounded in existing fact, most readily defensible in the immediate future. This attitude tends to drain out enthusiasm; it inhibits rather than inspires idealism, and over the long term may serve as the invisible leash on the leap of the President's imagination and on the range and pace of his policy initiatives. Realism carried to excess is earthbound.

Power-oriented pragmatism served Mr. Kennedy well in the tricky waters of domestic politics where every reef and shoal could be expertly sounded and charted. It did not sustain him in the weeks leading up to the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba last April. In foreign affairs a President can never hope to know all the factors as well as he knows the political methods of West Virginia or the inner strains and stresses of the California delegation. He must, of necessity, fall back either upon a reasoned set of philosophical and moral convictions or upon naked intuition. If Kennedy had deeply and firmly believed that political warfare is the only way effectively to combat a totalitarian radical like Castro, he would have instinctively and at once rejected the military adventure proposed by the Central Intelligence Agency. But he did not so believe, gambled on force and lost.

The Cuban defeat shook the morale of the President and his Administration, and many weeks passed before the effect wore off. But one failure is not the whole story. The Cuban invasion may be an omen of other and worse mistakes to come, or it may have been only a brief, painful learning experience in the education of a great President. Only future events can make clear whether President Kennedy has the moral vision necessary to give steady leadership and fulfill the promise of his intellectual force and political acumen.

AUTUMN ON THE RIDGE

by HAL BORLAND

For anyone who lives in the oak-and-maple area of New England, there is the perennial temptation to plunge into a purple sea of adjectives about October. The more laconic natives, especially those not in the tourist business, speak of "the color" and let it generate its own superlatives; but I am not quite that laconic, being a word-man by trade. For the moment, however, I will say only that even a color-blind person must now be glad to be alive and able to get outdoors. I went out for an hour the other morning and came back reluctantly; even the best ordered of human habitations now seems dull and prosaic. Nature does it so much better, and with so much less obvious effort, that I feel embarrassed.

But as I walked the ridge in back of my house and pastures I was thinking not only of the color but of the season itself, which, even in anthropocentric terms, is more than a colored leaf, a ripe acorn, or a migrating goose. Autumn is both a corrective and a reminder, and anyone living close to the land or even periodically visiting the country with an open eye and mind must sense this.

One autumn afternoon an industrial chemist who didn't know a bluejay from a bluebird walked that ridge with me. The leaves were drifting down like giant gold and crimson snowflakes and my chemist friend picked up one of them and asked about the process of leaf coloring. We discussed chlorophyll, sugar and starch, and such pigments as carotene, anthocyanin, and xanthophyll, and he said, "Waste. Sheer waste. The color serves no vital purpose, then?"

I said, "That depends on what you mean by purpose. There's no vital purpose in the color of a sunset either, I suppose."

"I mean the color doesn't contribute anything to the tree."

"Not much except beauty."

"The tree could live and grow without the leaf color, couldn't it? The color is just a by-product."

"In a sense," I said, "yes. It's a kind of leftover. But the chemicals in the leaves, even the pigments, reach out into the soil and the tree undoubtedly uses them again." And I dug down under the crisp leaves to the maturing leaf mold beneath.

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He studied this for a moment, then said, "If we could achieve just one chemical cycle that would feed on its own wastes and build something as substantial as a tree." He shook his head.

And there it was. He had seen the truth in a leaf. He was admitting that while the technicians can extract all kinds of things from wood, from turpentine to alcohol, from tar to paper, they have to start with a tree. They can't create a tree. All they can do is cut it down and disintegrate it.

I forget who said that if autumn came only once in ten years we would hold national and international celebrations for the event. There is some truth in that, but not the whole truth. After a few decades we probably would accept a decennial autumn pretty much as we now do the annual occurrence. The cyclic event loses its distinction and even becomes tiresome with repetition. How often does the average person, even the nature-sensitive person, go out especially to enjoy the full-moon brilliance of the night? There is little novelty in moonlight. It is too common a commodity. Watching the harvest moon, which came early this year, on September 24, I wondered if the plan to rocket a man to the moon will rouse interest in the moon itself or merely pique morbid curiosity about the fate of the lunarnaut, or whatever the multibillion-dollar sky-rocketeers choose to call him.

* * *

But autumn on my ridge is neither the time nor the place to dwell on such human super-pranks. I did spend a few subversive moments wondering how many classrooms and hospital wards could be built for the cost of one moon rocket. Then a couple of gray squirrels, harvesting acorns in a big white oak, chattered indignantly at my intrusion and brought me back to earth and reality. They were storing those acorns for the winter, driven by the instinct for survival. They might not know it, but I, being an intelligent human being, knew it. And I knew that they will never find all those acorns again, since they are mere squirrels. Some of those acorns will remain hidden and will sprout and grow into new oaks and ripen crops of acorns to feed other squirrels twenty and thirty years from now. Squirrels don't know this, but men do. Men are bright about such things. Men are so intelligent that when they grow more wheat or corn than they need they hide it, not where it can grow and feed hungry men tomorrow, but locked away safe from all natural laws except those of rot and mildew. Men, who now plan to plant a man on the moon for some reason connected with survival of the human race. I hope they don't forget to send a woman along, if that is actually the reason. Up to now man seems a bit slow in mastering parthenogenesis, though the aphids in my garden, which probably can't count to two, achieved parthenogenetic birth a long, long time ago. I'm just reactionary enough to hope they keep their secret.

One thing about my ridge, or any ridge for that matter, is that you get a sense of time and distance up there in October. Time, of course, is an inexplicable dimension in which we all participate but of which no one is master. There is the time of the universe, and the time of the rocks, and the time of man, and about all we have ever done is split time into fragments so that we can count the fleeting bits. Achievement of the microsecond hasn't altered the individual life span one iota. I notice that the trees go right on counting time by years, ring by annual ring, pretty much as the earth tallies time in its sediments.

Distance is something else again, whether we measure it in light years or millimeters. Distance is the length of a man's stride and the reach of his eye. It is the height of a mountain and the breadth of a continent or an ocean. It can even be the closeness or the remoteness between two men or two nations and the ideas which dominate their thinking.

The strange thing is that autumn, especially on a wooded ridge, changes the relationship of time and distance. The days shorten, and at the same time they increase in height and breadth. It is almost as though there were a fixed ratio that keeps the days in balance. The leaves begin to fall and the eye begins to reach. New vistas open. I saw those vistas opening this morning, there on the ridge, and my eye could see brand new horizons. Not exactly new, of course, since they have been there since this earth assumed its present shape; but they seemed new this morning because they were newly seen after weeks and months when they were hidden. And I know that tonight I can look up from my dooryard, through the branches of the big sugar maples, and see the constellations of Pegasus and Andromeda. They, too, have been there a long time, but I couldn't see them from the dooryard all summer.

* * *

That is what I meant when I said earlier that autumn is a corrective. It is color and ripeness and a season of natural completion; but it is also a time of breadth and depth and distance annually brought back to our attention. I wonder if anyone can stand on an autumn hilltop, or out in a dooryard on an October evening, and fail to see the new expanse not only around him but in him, too.

Before I came down to the valley and the house I climbed to the crest of the ridge, where the backbone of the hills in this part of the world lies open and exposed. There is something of a jumble of rocks up there, and few trees of any consequence. And at the very crest is a huge table-like rock, weathered and gray and patched with lichen. The rock is mostly quartzite and marble, with some mica schist. The quartzite is a metamorphosed sandstone, in geologists' terms, hard and durable. The marble is a form of limestone and somewhat softer. The weather has worn away the marble faster than it has worn the quartzite, but the lichen is slowly eating into the intractable quartzite.

I stood there looking at the patches of lichen, like miniature gray and green maps of imaginary places, and I remembered my surprise when I first learned that lichens are dual plants living in symbiosis, a fungus and an alga neither of which could exist in such a place alone. The fungus collects moisture and the alga manufactures food. Each does its job and together they persist in this difficult environment where either would perish by itself. The lichen not only persists but even flourishes, slowly wearing away the rock and building little patches of soil. Moss was growing in some of those patches, grass in others, and I even found a small cedar tree growing in one patch where there was a deeper accumulation of soil than elsewhere.

I turned and came down the slope, watching those new horizons through the thinning leaves, admiring the purple tinge of viburnum leaves and the deep crimson of blueberry. It was a vivid world, and I must say that "the color" is quite inadequate to describe it. It was a magnificent world, full of gold and scarlet and tan and brown, and every shade of red I ever knew.

I came down the hillside, and the farther I came the more I wondered why the leaders who hold this world's critical decisions in their hands don't meet for a conference on such a hillside at this season of the year. The more I considered the idea, the more persuaded I became that people, and especially those who make the big and fatal decisions, have worked themselves into a serious case of cabin fever. If you don't know that term, cabin fever is a state of nerves achieved by men who have been confined too long in a small cabin, usually in the depth of winter. They get so suspicious and so resentful of each other that they often commit mayhem, sometimes murder. Nobody ever got cabin fever on an open hilltop in October.

I don't know why, but it is the long-time habit of our leaders to hold their crucial conferences within four walls. Man-made walls. It is as though they were afraid to face the dimensions of time and distance and must even roof themselves away from the eternities of the sky. There they deliberate what may very well be the fate of man, all men.

Then, approaching the far side of the pasture, now showing bronze in ripeness, I wondered why there shouldn't be an autumn conference on such a hilltop as mine. With a rock for a conference table. A rock already equipped with maps of a possible tomorrow. Lichen-maps, which are living, growing examples of symbiosis, of two separate elements of life that thrive in mutual give and take. A council seated around such a rock, with the glory of autumn all around. Perhaps the light and air of autumn would ventilate not only the mind and thinking but the problems themselves which, after all, are man-made problems. It might work, particularly if the generals and the admirals were left behind, for once, out of earshot. It might.

Then I came across the pasture and to the house, and before I came indoors my neighbor on the next farm came past and paused. "Corn picker broke down," he said, "I've got to get a new part. Need anything in the village?" I said no and thanked him. While we stood there talking there was a thunderclap in the cloudless sky, and we saw a needle-nosed jet, mosquito-small, racing toward the horizon, a contrail in its wake. Albert shook his head and said, "Sometimes I wonder what they're writing, up there. What it means."

I said, "Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin."

"What's that?" Albert asked.

"Just an old saying."

"Well, I've got to get along if I'm going to get that corn in the corn house." And Albert drove on.

I turned and looked at the color on the ridge, and at the stark white contrail still there in the cloudless sky; and I wished they would come and sit down around that old rock and talk. Right now. Today.

New Voices for Consumers

by JULIUS DUSCHA

FOR THE first time in more than a decade the consumer has some influential friends in those Federal agencies in Washington that most affect his pocketbook: the long-neglected regulatory commissions. During the last years of the Truman Administration and throughout the eight years of the Eisenhower Administration the commissions were largely the captives of the industries they were established to regulate. But President John F. Kennedy has given the regulatory bodies a much-needed transfusion of new blood. And the regulated industries already are howling as if they had been stabbed with a pitchfork.

The most widely-publicized of the new appointees is Newton N. Minow, the cherubic-looking chairman of the Federal Communications Commission who brought the wrath of the broadcasting industry upon himself by saying out loud and in public what everyone knew—that television had become "a vast wasteland." The tightly organized and highly influential radio and television industry promptly got even with the young Mr. Minow by spearheading a lobbying drive on Capitol Hill which defeated a proposal to reorganize the FCC by Executive action.

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Tough as they are on Capitol Hill, the broadcasters scare easily, and the effects of Minow's harsh words were promptly seen on television screens, at least for a time, in the form of a sharp increase in worthwhile public service programs. And Congress finally approved some of the changes in FCC procedures that the industry initially defeated.

* * *

Minow may be the best-known of the Kennedy appointees to the regulatory commissions, but the names of men like Chairman Najeebe E. Halaby of the Federal Aviation Agency, Chairman Joseph C. Swidler and Howard Morgan, of the Federal Power Commission, and Chairman Paul Rand Dixon of the Federal Trade Commission unquestionably will become as well known and as highly controversial as they seek to put into effect the consumer-oriented policies they are pledged to carry out.

Halaby is a lean, leathery jet pilot who could instill confidence in the most nervous Nellie on her first jet trip. Before taking over as head of the FAA, which has primary responsibility for the safety and control of the airways, Halaby tested the then controversial Lockheed Electra and personally pronounced it airworthy. Since then he has taken his first parachute jump so that he could better evaluate proposed Federal regulations governing the new sport of parachuting. As FAA Chairman, Halaby is determined to install as quickly as possible the devices and controls that are so desperately needed to make the nation's air system safe for high-speed jet traffic.

The FPC's Swidler is a protege of David E. Lilienthal, the former chairman of both the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Atomic Energy Commission. For twenty-five years Swidler, a dark-haired, serious man with the meticulous look of a no-nonsense lawyer, was an attorney for TVA. In his last years of TVA service Swidler rose to become general counsel of an agency whose dedication to the people has become legendary throughout the world.

THE TOMB

by MILTON MAYER

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Swidler believes that the FPC, which had been the worst of the industry-oriented agencies, ought not merely to wait for cases to come before it but should act as a consumer's counsel heading off potentially dangerous situations before they explode in the public's face. Soon after he took office Swidler—and Morgan, a former Oregon public utilities commissioner also known for his defense of consumer interests—sent a natural gas case back for further hearings because the company failed to give adequate consideration to the effects of the decision on consumers. The FPC's past disregard of consumers was so blatant that even the courts had to reprimand the Commission more than once for similar failures.

Unhappily, President Kennedy's third appointment to the five-man FPC was Lawrence J. O'Connor, whose entire experience had been making profits in the oil and gas industry. It was O'Connor's nomination that set off a round-the-clock talkathon protest by Wisconsin's Democratic Senator William Proxmire. The O'Connor appointment is yet another indication of the always present power of the oil and gas industry as well as the influence of the oil-conscious Texas diumverate of Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and House Speaker Sam Rayburn.

But a four-to-one or three-to-two consumer ratio on the FPC is far better than the often total oil and gas domination of past years. The FPC's pro-industry bias became so pronounced in the last years of the Eisenhower Administration that regulatory bodies from consumer states were in constant conflict with the Federal Commission.

A few blocks away from the FPC's modern suite of offices in Washington primly stands the Old Lady of Pennsylvania Avenue—the Federal Trade Commission. A deceptively soft-spoken Tennesseean, Paul Rand Dixon, is manfully trying to turn the dowager into a fast-stepping consumer's consort.

The fusty, musty FTC had come partially to life in the last two Eisenhower years under the chairmanship of Earl Kintner, but unfortunately for the consumer Kintner talked tougher than he acted. Dixon, former chief counsel and staff director for Senator Estes Kefauver's Antitrust Subcommittee, has reorganized the FTC and is determined to get the agency to act before the consumer's pocketbook has been picked. In the past a typical FTC cease-and-desist order was entered only after false advertising or other schemes had bilked the public.

Dixon also has reactivated the agency's economic studies division. He feels that broad investigations of trends in the economy frequently can be more effective than picking away at a problem case by case. Perhaps the monument to FTC inefficiency was the Carter's Little Liver Pills case, which went on for sixteen years before Carter finally was ordered to remove the word "Liver" from its trade name on the rather solid grounds that the pills had no effect on the liver. Dixon is not the kind of man to stomach sixteen years of legal maneuvering for such a decision.

* * *

Americans like to say that ours is a government of laws rather than of men. But as James M. Landis, President Kennedy's former adviser on the regulatory agencies, stated in his stinging report on the commissions last December: "The prime key to the improvement of the administrative process is the selection of qualified personnel. Good men make poor laws workable; poor men will wreak havoc with good laws."

The President and his talent scouts, led by his brother-in-law Sargent Shriver, who is now director of the Peace Corps, conscientiously sought out men for the agencies who were at once politically acceptable and extremely able. So far only one lame duck has found a roost in the agencies, which were a favorite nest for defeated officeholders during the Eisenhower years. The Kennedy lame duck appointment was that of former Senator Allen J. Frear of Delaware to the Securities and Exchange Commission.

While the President's appointments to the agencies have been generally good, his efforts to reorganize the regulatory bodies met with opposition that the Administration might have anticipated and headed off. While the FCC reorganization plan lost largely because of the opposition of the broadcasting industry, another important reason for the defeat was the poor liaison work with Congress by Landis and the White House Congressional staff headed by Lawrence O'Brien. A contributing factor to the FCC defeat was the opposition to the plan by Robert T. Bartley, a member of the Commission who happens to be Speaker Rayburn's nephew.

An SEC reorganization was also lost on Capitol Hill, largely because of the same sort of industry influences that shot the FCC proposals out from under a rather startled Administration. Congress did, however, approve reorganization plans for the FTC, Civil Aeronautics Board, National Labor Relations Board, and the Federal Maritime Board.

All of the plans strengthened the role and authority of the commission chairmen and permitted the delegation of routine decision-making authority to hearing examiners and employe boards as well as to panels of commission members. Thus the commissioners will have more time to deal with the important issues that come before them. The FCC, for example, has had to treat an application for a radio transmitter aboard a shrimp boat the same as an application for a television channel worth hundreds of millions of dollars.

But the President failed to ask Congress to reorganize either the Federal Power Commission or the Interstate Commerce Commission. The latter still operates like a gasping steam locomotive trying to pull a 100-car freight train up a steep grade. The eleven-man ICC did, however, read the election returns; it has instituted a broad series of procedural reforms that should speed up its work and put at least some of its cases on a respectable railroad timetable. The ICC also has finally recommended Federal subsidies to maintain essential railroad passenger services. But the ICC chairmanship still rotates among the agency's commissioners each year, thus effectively cutting the President off from any real direction of this, the first of the regulatory agencies, set up in 1887.

MINNEAPOLIS STAR

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

Dag Hammarskjold

As to the FPC, Landis had suggested that it be enlarged from a five to a seven-man body and be given authority to split up into electric power and gas and oil panels. Presumably the President will follow through on these and other Landis recommendations next year.

President Kennedy already has Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges drawing up proposals for a national transportation policy, one of the key proposals made by Landis, who also urged the President to coordinate energy and communications policies. Now, as Landis has noted, the ICC never talks to either the CAB or the FAA, the Atomic Energy Commission seldom speaks to the Interior Department's Bureau of Mines, and the Defense Department clutches close to its bureaucratic breast hundreds of radio frequencies and television channels that it says might be needed in time of national emergency but which meanwhile the communications industry could put to worthwhile civilian use.

If the Administration's implementation of the reorganization and coordination proposals made by Landis had been as extensive as its staffing of the agencies has been competent, the consumer would now find himself in an even better position. Nevertheless the beginning has been encouraging and the future looks bright.

Although much of the blame for the sluggishness of the regulatory bodies has been placed upon their procedures, even more important has been the attitude of the members of the agencies toward their jobs. The FPC is the outstanding example. It took the agency more than six years to implement the Supreme Court decision in the controversial Phillips case, which said that the Commission had the authority to regulate natural gas producers as well as pipelines, simply because a majority of the members of the agency did not want to bring the producers under a Federal umbrella.

Or consider what Dixon has done to shake up the FTC. Eisenhower-appointed chairmen could have accomplished the same thing—if they had been as concerned about the consumer as is Dixon. At the FCC the admittedly difficult problem of reallocating television channels to make full use of UHF facilities (numbered thirteen and above) was passed over by commissioners who, as Landis bluntly commented, seemed to be "incapable of policy planning."

The ICC has known for years that a new approach must be taken to the problems of railroads trying to compete with trucks, buses, airplanes, and automobiles, but the Commission formulated no policies. Nor has the CAB concerned itself with the vast changes in the air industry being brought about by the huge and fast jets and by the multiplicity of carriers serving heavily-traveled routes like the New York-Washington run.

* * *

All of these are matters that transcend procedures and organization charts; they are problems that can be solved only by first-rate men determined to find the answers without regard for the sensitivities of the industries and their lobbyists.

Indeed, it is quite possible that the history of government regulatory bodies is entering a fourth phase in the United States. Students of the regulatory process have noted that agencies have been born out of abuses or developed from an obvious need for control of a naturally monopolistic situation. The ICC grew out of the buccaneering days of the first large railroad systems following the Civil War. The FTC and the Food and Drug Administrations were set up in 1914 on the eve of World War I following disclosures of the businessman's disregard for the consumer's health, sensibilities, or value received for his dollar. The FCC, FPC and AEC, on the other hand, were established because of the inherently monopolistic characteristics of the broadcasting industry, private utilities, and nuclear energy.

* * *

The process began, then, with a recognition of the need for regulating abuses of monopolies. The second phase was the establishment of the agencies amid bright hopes for their future work on behalf of consumers. The agencies started off in a burst of enthusiasm. They had their pick of law school graduates. Men in mid-career fought for places on the commissions. The press watched their every move.

But soon the commissions entered a third phase: they became bogged down in judicial processes that seemed to give every advantage to the industries that were supposed to be regulated. And it was not many years until the agencies were captives of the industries, largely because the industries were well-organized while the consumer was not. Soon the industries were the only ones paying any attention to the agencies, which became resting places for political hacks, sinecures for broken down bureaucrats, safe berths for listless lawyers, and stepping stones to well-paid industry jobs for the ambitious.

During the atrophy of the Eisenhower years the agencies became deeply mired in this third phase of their history. This was even true of the AEC, which as the newest of the major regulatory agencies is only fifteen years old and is working on an exciting frontier of knowledge. But now there are heartening indications that the agencies are awakening from their long sleep and are once again attracting able young lawyers who are seeking out exciting public service rather than a fast start up the ladder to corporate security.

MOVING?

Please send us your old address as well as your new one.

Of course the agencies cannot be made over in a day, or even a year. In fact, there are those who maintain that in their present form the regulatory bodies can never accomplish the jobs they were set up to do. Such critics of the regulatory process as Louis J. Hector, the Miami lawyer who resigned from the CAB in a huff in 1959 and then issued a caustic blast at all of the agencies, believe that the judicial work of the agencies should be separated from their purely regulatory activities.

Under this plan truly judicial bodies would decide cases while other agencies, probably as part of Cabinet departments, would carry out the routine regulatory, promotional, and other non-judicial activities now included in the work of the commissions. Perhaps such a separation of powers would be the ideal answer, but Congress is so jealous of its role as an overseer of the regulatory agencies that it is unlikely to make this fundamental change.

Earlier this year when the appointees to the regulatory bodies came before the Senate Commerce Committee for their confirmation hearings, one of the first questions asked of them was whether they viewed the agency to which they were appointed as "a creature of Congress." The proper answer, especially at a confirmation hearing, is an unequivocal and loud "yes." What is perhaps even more important, few members of Congress, particularly the Senators and Representatives on the Commerce, Appropriations, and other committees that oversee the work of the agencies, are bashful when it comes to representing the interests of their constituents or friends before the commissions.

However, the *ex parte* contacts which bedeviled the agencies as well as Sherman Adams during the declining years of the Eisenhower Administration, have not yet become a problem under President Kennedy. It is early yet in his Administration, of course, but this currently encouraging situation is largely a reflection of the generally high quality appointments to the commissions. The well-paid and ubiquitous industry lobbyists who keep so many clubs and restaurants in business in Washington know that they are wasting their time trying to get a Swidler, a Morgan, a Dixon, a Halaby, or a Minow to bite on their baited hooks.

There is some concern in Washington about the lack of *expertise* on the part of some of the appointees to the regulatory bodies. Minow, who had been a member of Adlai E. Stevenson's law office, admittedly could not distinguish a cathode ray tube from a transistor. Neither Swidler nor Morgan had any first-hand knowledge of the oil and gas industry—so they took an extensive tour of oil fields and cracking plants in Louisiana and Texas. Other appointees, like Halaby and Dixon, have had extensive background and knowledge in the areas that they are now regulating.

* * *

But how important is *expertise?* Does a man need to know how to build a transmitter to be an effective FCC commissioner? Or does he have to be an oil promoter to understand the FPC? Hardly. The agencies have staff members who can advise the commissioners on technical problems.

What the regulatory agencies need are commissioners who are dedicated to the determination of issues in the public interest. The regulated industries themselves must be healthy and viable, but the laws give the industries all the protection they could conceivably need. And when the public interest—the consumers' interest—is given first consideration the industry itself is protected from the severe and painful backlash of public criticism that is certain to follow any flagrant disregard of the consumer. This is a lesson, however, that industry seems to have as difficult a time learning as consumers have had in banding together to protect their overriding interest in regulation.

'I Will Keep My Soul'

by JAMES FARMER

On May 4 of this year, I left Washington, D.C., with twelve other persons on a risky journey into the South. Seven of us were Negro and six were white. Riding in two regularly scheduled buses, one Greyhound, the other Trailways, traveling beneath overcast skies, our little band—the original Freedom Riders—was filled with expectations of storms almost certain to come before the journey was ended.

Now, six months later, as all the world knows, the fire-gutted shell of one bus lies in an Alabama junk yard, and some of the people who almost died with it are still suffering prolonged illnesses. A dozen Freedom Riders nearly gave up their lives under the fierce hammering of fists, clubs, and iron pipes in the hands of hysterical mobs. Many of the victims will carry permanent scars. One of them lies in a Detroit hospital critically ill from a cerebral hemorrhage, a direct result of the beating he took. Others have lost their jobs or have been expelled from school because of their participation in the rides. More than 350 men and woman have been jailed in a half dozen states for doing what the Supreme Court of the United States had already said they had a right to do. The Interstate Commerce Commission has now issued an historic ruling in behalf of interstate bus integration which may indeed mean that the suffering of the past six months has not been in vain.

Why did we ride? What is the meaning of it all? Has the whole thing been a stunt, a gimmick engineered by irresponsible publicity seekers? Has America's prestige been damaged in the eyes of the world by the events that grew out of the Freedom Rides? These are questions frequently asked, and I think the answer should not be required to wait upon the verdict of history.

In 1946 the Supreme Court ruled in the Irene Morgan decision that segregation of interstate passengers in seating on buses was an unconstitutional burden upon commerce. A Freedom Ride later that year, called the "Journey of Reconciliation," cosponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, demonstrated that segregated seating was still enforced on buses in the upper Southern states, and that anyone who challenged this segregation was subject to arrest and threatened violence. Through the years since that time reports have come into the office of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) of continuing segregation in seating on buses, especially in the deep South.

In 1960 the Supreme Court issued a ruling, in the Boynton case, banning segregation in the terminal facilities used by interstate passengers. Yet, in the months that followed reports continued to pour into our office indicating that the South was defying the Supreme Court's edict, just as some of the Southern states have defied the Court's school desegregation rulings. It was to close this gap between the interpretation and the implementation of the law that the Freedom Riders rode.

Who were the Freedom Riders?

JAMES FARMER, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, has been one of the nation's pioneers in developing nonviolent, direct action methods to meet race relations problems.

By what right did we seek to "meddle in the South's business"? Ever since the election of Rutherford B. Hayes to the Presidency in 1876, and the bargain with the South which it entailed, the Southern states have maintained that what they do with the Negro is their own business, and "outsiders" have no right to interfere. The Freedom Riders rejected this essentially states' right doctrine of race relations. None of us, in the North or in the South, can afford the moral luxury of unconcern about injustice. Further, the states' rights doctrine is just as outmoded on the domestic scene as Nineteenth Century isolationism is on the international. Today, how can we think of outsiders keeping hands off injustice in Alabama, when outsiders all over the world can be threatened with destruction by events in a far away place like Laos? How would the dead of Korea view Mississippi's claim that only Mississippians have a right to concern themselves with injustice in that state?

* * *

So we came from all over the country, from both races and of all ages, to test compliance with the law, to exercise the right of all Americans to use all transportation facilities with the dignity of equality, to shake Americans out of their apathy on this issue and expose the real character of segregation to the pitiless scrutiny of a nation's conscience.

Outsiders? As Americans, from whatever state, all of us are Mississippians and Minnesotans, Carolinians and Californians, Alabamans and Arizonans. No American can afford to ignore the burning bus and the bloody heads of the mob's victims. Who can fail to be stirred by the new convicts for conscience, black and white, who walked with pride into Southern jails, especially in Mississippi, surrendering their own personal freedom in the struggle for a greater freedom for everyone?

Jail at best is neither a romantic nor a pleasant place, and Mississippi jails are no exception. The first twenty-seven Freedom Riders to arrive in Jackson saw the inside of two different jails and two different prisons—the Jackson City Jail, the Hinds

County Jail, the Hinds County Prison Farm, and the State Penitentiary at Parchman. Jails are not a new experience for many of the Riders, but the Freedom Riders were definitely a new experience for Mississippi jails. For the first time, penal authorities in the citadel of segregation had a glimpse of the new Negro and the emancipated white. I do not think these jailers will ever be quite the same again after their experience. Nor will the other prisoners, black and white, be the same again, after having seen in the flesh men and women who do not believe segregation to be in the very nature of things, and who are willing to defy it.

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Prison authorities frequently said, and really seemed to believe, that other Negro prisoners like things the way they are and have no sympathy with us, and that it was for our own protection that we were isolated from them. However, whenever the guards were not present, the Negro trustees went out of their way to show their sympathy by word and deed. "Keep up the good work," one said. "I admire you guys and what you are doing," said another. "I wish I could do the same thing, but I have to do what these people tell me to do." They smuggled newspapers in to us, delivered notes and messages between our cell block and that of the girl Freedom Riders, and passed on rumors which they had heard in the jail or in the community.

One night at the county jail, a voice called up from the cell block beneath us, where other Negro prisoners were housed. "Upstairs!", the anonymous prisoner shouted. We replied, "Downstairs!" "Upstairs!", replied the voice. "Sing your freedom song." And the Freedom Riders sang. We sang old folk songs and gospel songs to which new words had been written, telling of the Freedom Ride and its purpose. We sang new words to old labor songs, too. One stanza rang out: "They say in Hinds County no neutrals have they met. You're either for the Freedom Ride or you 'tom' for Ross Barnett." Then the downstairs prisoners, whom the jailers had said were our enemies, sang for us. The girl Freedom Riders, in another wing of the jail, joined in the Freedom Ride songs, and for the first time in history, the Hinds County jail rocked with singing of songs of freedom and brotherhood.

One evening at the county jail, after a rumor of our imminent transfer to the state penitentiary had reached us, the jailer came quietly to our Freedom Riders cell block. He called me, and we stood there with the bars between us, chatting. He did most of the talking. He told me about his family, his wife, and four or five children—the good records they had made in schools, including Ole Miss. He told me of his son's prowess in sports and of the children's marriages and his grandchildren. He told me, too, of his dislike of violence, and of his children's upbringing in that regard. The jailer stood there talking for more than hour, in the first conversation we had had with him. This, I am sure, was his way of saying goodbye, and of telling us that he respects the Freedom Riders, and that whatever unpleasantness we might meet at the state penitentiary would be something of which he did not approve.

Mississippians, born into segregation, are human too. The Freedom Riders' aim is not only to stop the practice of segregation, but somehow to reach the common humanity of our fellowmen and bring it to the surface where they can act on it themselves. This is a basic motive behind the Freedom Rides, and nonviolence is the key to its realization.

It is not only that Southerners and other Americans have been shaken in their unjust racial practices, or out of their lethargy. Now, as a result of the Freedom Rides, the world at large, and especially the developing nations of Africa and Asia, have been offered the opportunity of viewing a new, more constructive approach to America's racial dilemma. If the world looks now it will see that many dedicated and conscientious Americans of both races, rather than sweeping the dirt of discrimination under the rug, are striving, at any cost, to remove the dirt from their house. If Africans witnessed our national shame in the necessity for the Freedom Rides, they saw our nation's hope and promise in the fact that there were so many Americans willing to risk their freedom and even their lives to erase that shame.

The world and America saw also the Freedom Rider's challenge to the traditions and fears which have immobilized so many Negroes in Dixie. In terminals in the South, and on the buses, many Negro passengers took the Freedom Riders' cue and dared to sit and ride "first class." This was another purpose of the Rides themselves: to break down the voluntary submission of Negroes to racial injustice, a submission created by generations of suppression with the rope and with fire and with economic reprisal. As I entered the white waiting room in one terminal in the South, a Negro woman passenger from the same bus caught my eye and anxiously beckoned me to follow her into the dingy but safe colored section. Moments later, when she saw me served at the lunch counter in the white section, she joined me for a cup of coffee.

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In Jackson, Mississippi, forty-one Negro citizens of that community joined the Freedom Riders, ending up in their hometown jails. Now out on appeal bond, they report many threats of reprisals. But there is a new spirit among Negroes in Jackson. People are learning that in a nonviolent war like ours, as in any other war, there must be suffering. Jobs will be lost, mortgages will be foreclosed, loans will be denied, persons will be hurt, and some may die. This new spirit was expressed well by one Freedom Rider in the Mississippi state penitentiary at Parchman. The guards threatened repeatedly, as a reprisal for our insistence upon dignity, to take away our mattresses. "Come and get my mattress," he shouted. "I will keep my soul."

SCHOOL SEGREGATION *Northern* STYLE

by WILL MASLOW & RICHARD COHEN

IN NEW YORK CITY, ninety-five public elementary schools have enrollments of ninety per cent or more Negro or Puerto Rican pupils—an increase of twenty segregated schools within the past year.

In Chicago, 102,000 of the city's 117,000 Negro elementary school students attend virtually all-Negro schools.

In Philadelphia, thirty elementary schools have Negro enrollments of more than ninety-nine per cent.

In Detroit, nearly half of the city's Negro children attend schools in which Negroes make up more than eighty per cent of the school enrollments.

These figures from the nation's four largest Negro communities tell a story that may come as a shock to Americans who think of school segregation in terms of Little Rock, or New Orleans, or Prince Edward County, Virginia. Yet the sorry truth is that more Negro children go to what are *de facto* segregated schools in the major cities of the North than attend *de jure* segregated schools in urban areas of the South.

A glance at the 1960 census statistics provides confirmation. Today only fifty-two per cent of the country's 18,900,000 Negroes still live in the Deep South—the result of the continuing northward movement of the Southland's Negro population. New York City has the largest Negro community in the world; its more than one million Negro men, women, and children outnumber the Negro population of almost any Southern state. Chicago (813,000 Negroes), Philadelphia (530,000), and Detroit (482,000) each has more than twice as many Negroes as the largest Negro communities in the South—New Orleans (234,000), Houston (215,000), and Atlanta (186,000). When these Northern Negro population statistics are viewed in the context of the prevailing "black belts" that characterize residential patterns in the country's big Northern cities, the conclusion is inescapable: School segregation—and the inequality of education that results—is as widespread above the Mason-Dixon line as it is below. The problem poses the greatest challenge to the American system of free and universal education that our country has known in this century.

There appears to be general agreement—at least among serious students of the problem—with the Supreme Court's opinion that school segregation on the basis of race "has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children." There is growing acceptance among such liberals that white children are also limited in their understanding of the world about them by being restricted to contacts with other whites, and that the false feeling of racial superiority that may result from school and other experiences in which Negroes play inferior roles may be harmful as well. Finally, there is increasing appreciation of the fact that in the North as well as in the South, schools in Negro neighborhoods do not measure up to white schools. New York City's Commission on Integration found, for example, that "the schools in the colored neighborhoods of Greater New York have tended to be older, less well-equipped, and more crowded than the schools in the white neighborhoods; the quality of the teaching provided in these predominantly colored schools has also suffered."

* * *

The New York study found that only 50.3 per cent of the teachers in the predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican elementary schools were fully licensed, as compared with 78.2 per cent in white schools. In Chicago, eighty-one per cent of the children in the heavily-Negro schools were on double session, although these same children made up only about one-third of the total elementary school population. Figures released by the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People indicate an even more telling measure of inequality: The average white public school in Chicago has 669 pupils; enrollment in racially-mixed schools averages 947; in predominantly Negro schools, the average enrollment is 1,275.

But while the damage to Negro children, the harm to whites, and the inequality in school facilities resulting from *de facto* school segregation in the North may be recognized—and deplored—there has been an almost unanimous failure by the public to perceive some of the less obvious

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causes of segregation and near-unanimous reluctance by local school boards in the North to accept responsibility for doing something about it. At the root of this failure and this reluctance are two false assumptions: First, it is assumed that *de facto* racial segregation in Northern public schools is the simple result of the ghetto housing to which Negroes are subjected; and, second, that as long as a community has no racial requirements overtly affecting school admission, local authorities are under no obligation to eliminate or even reduce the segregation in their schools that may arise from related community segregation practices.

* * *

The illusion that residential segregation and school segregation stand in a simple cause-and-effect relationship was shattered earlier this year by Federal District Judge Irving R. Kaufman when he found the New Rochelle, New York, board of education guilty of segregating its schools even though the words "race" and "Negro" were scrupulously avoided in official declarations of school admission policy. The crucial tests, he ruled, in what has now become a landmark decision, are motivation and effect.

Judge Kaufman held that as far back as 1930 the local school board had so gerrymandered school district lines that Negro pupils were confined exclusively to the Lincoln School and white pupils to others. Transfers to other schools were permitted, but in practice those who availed themselves of the opportunity were almost exclusively white. By 1949 the district had a population that was for all purposes 100 per cent Negro. At this point the school board froze what the judge described as the district's "artificially created boundaries" and refused all future requests for transfers even in the face of empty desks in other New Rochelle schools—desks numbering twice the total registration in the Lincoln School. Judge Kaufman charged that the local school board had sought to keep Lincoln a "racially segregated" school since 1949 and ordered the board "to implement desegregation as required by the Fourteenth Amendment."

The gerrymandering found by Judge Kaufman in New Rochelle is but one of a number of ingenious if insidious techniques developed over the years to keep some schools white and others Negro. One device is to permit under-utilization of schools in white neighborhoods rather than accept the overflow from crowded Negro schools. (Chicago's school board has been accused of this by the NAACP.) Another method is to manipulate pupil placement policies so that Negro children may not transfer out of their neighborhood schools. The selection of school sites can also be crucial in reinforcing or breaking patterns of school segregation. As Judge Kaufman put it in his decision:

"If a board of education selects a school site, or otherwise operates its schools with a purposeful desire to segregate or to maintain segregation, the Constitution has been violated. . . . It is of no moment whether the segregation is labeled by the defendant as *de jure* or *de facto*, as long as the board, by its conduct, is responsible for its maintenance."

The significance of Judge Kaufman's decision was the judicial recognition that racial segregation in the public schools can result from causes other than segregation in housing. Boards of education, he warned, may not put the sole responsibility for segregated schools on residential patterns if they reinforce such patterns, either by their own actions or by what he termed "culpable inaction." Compliance with the Supreme Court's 1954 edict, he ruled, "was not to be less forthright in the North than in the South."

Judge Kaufman's ruling has already had its effect not only in New Rochelle—where some 267 boys and girls were transferred on the first day of classes from Lincoln to eleven other schools—but also in Philadelphia and Chicago, where Negro parents have filed suit to compel local officials to move their children out of crowded schools in Negro neighborhoods to vacant classrooms in white sections. A similar suit is being planned in San Francisco.

The Chicago action, launched in mid-September, asked the Federal District Court to declare Chicago's neighborhood school policy "illegal and unconstitutional." Significantly, the lawyer for the Chicago Negro parents is Paul Zuber—the same attorney who represented the New Rochelle parents in their successful court struggle. Apparently profiting from his experience in the New Rochelle case, Zuber served notice that he would ask for discovery subpoenas to obtain the full record of the Chicago board of education in matters concerning vacant seats in white schools. The Negro parents, in their complaint, accused School Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis, "with the acquiescence and condonation of the Board of Education," of having "drawn school district lines and periodically alter[ing] them for the purpose of containing the plaintiffs' children and other Negroes within the prescribed school district."

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Launching of the Chicago suit—which followed the refusal by school officials on opening day to permit eighty-five Negro youngsters to register in schools outside their home districts—came not long after the Illinois Advisory Committee to the Federal Civil Rights Commission issued a report charging that "by reason of housing patterns or other factors ninety per cent of the elementary pupils in Chicago attend schools which are predominantly of one race." While expressing the opinion that "there is not a deliberate policy of discrimination" in Chicago schools, the quasi-official civil rights group added:

"There . . . is no question that the schools which are predominantly Negro suffer from serious problems by reason of the size of school population and classroom membership."

The Committee reported, for example, that eighteen of the twenty-two Chicago schools with enrollments of more than 2,100 are predominantly Negro. Because of double-shifting, with each child attending only approximately half-time, in these schools, the Committee noted, "numbers of children are idle on the streets throughout a good part of the school day, in many cases without supervision." Benjamin C. Willis, superintendent of Chicago schools, has estimated that 25,000 pupils in the city get only a half-day's schooling in double-shift schools. The NAACP charges that only one of these schools is in a white neighborhood.

The effects of school segregation on juvenile delinquency among Negroes has been the subject of too little research by our sociologists and social psychologists, yet the Committee's observation is one that Northern cities haunted by teen-age gangsters and riddled with juvenile crime might well study.

Most Northern communities, however, have refused to assume any responsibility for segregation in their own schools. If New Rochelle was an exception in the lengths to which it went in keeping Negro pupils apart from whites, its attitude is nevertheless typical of cities and towns north of the Mason-Dixon line which have refused to attack the problem of school segregation on the ground that the Fourteenth Amendment does not "affirmatively command integration" (as a 1957 Circuit Court ruling put it) and forbids only the use of governmental powers to enforce segregation.

Yet a few courageous and far-seeing school boards—among them the much-maligned New York City Board of Education—have chosen to face the problem rather than ignore it, a choice that recognized responsibility to reduce, and ultimately eliminate, inferior education resulting from racial segregation. These communities have worked out approaches to integration at least equal in ingenuity and originality to the regressive techniques developed by school boards like New Rochelle's.

One method—the "Princeton [New Jersey] Plan"—has proved particularly effective in desegregating schools in smaller communities where a school serving a Negro neighborhood may be relatively close to a school serving a white one. The plan has also been successfully introduced in Benton Harbor, Michigan, and Willow Grove, Pennsylvania. Under the Princeton Plan, school authorities assign all children in the first three grades—regardless of race or where they live—to one school located in a Negro area; children in the upper elementary grades are assigned to a nearby school in a white neighborhood. The result: two racially mixed instead of two segregated schools.

Another approach to eliminating *de facto* segregation is a system under which Negro children from overcrowded schools are transported by bus each day—with their parents' permission—to under-utilized schools in white neighborhoods. The plan has been put into effect in New York City, where 919 boys and girls from the all-Negro Bedford-Stuyvesant slums of Brooklyn were transported by bus to schools in the neighboring borough of Queens and in Detroit, where 314 Negro pupils were transported to hitherto all-white schools. A variation of this plan was introduced in Westbury, Long Island, where authorities began transporting white pupils to the new building by bus in order to prevent a new school in a predominantly Negro area from turning into a segregated school.

Another method of reducing segregation is to locate new schools on the fringe areas of Negro concentration; the schools then draw their enrollments from both Negro and white neighborhoods. But there is a serious drawback to this approach that continues to perplex even the best-intentioned of school administrators. If all new schools are to be located exclusively in fringe areas, obsolete and dilapidated schools in the heart of Negro neighborhoods remain open. This would mean a different kind of discrimination against Negro pupils, whose constitutional right to equality in education demands at the very least that they shall not be required to accept inferior physical facilities. The problem is one that has deeply concerned the New York City school board, which has pledged itself to reduce *de facto* segregation in the city schools. Faced with the problem of balancing Negro, Puerto Rican, and white pupil enrollments in new schools at the expense of perpetuating physically inferior schools, New York compromised. Of fifty-four new elementary and junior high schools built in a recent three-year period, thirteen were placed in predominantly Negro or Puerto Rican areas, seventeen in mainly white neighborhoods, and the remaining twenty-four in mixed or fringe areas.

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By far the most extensive effort to overcome Jim Crow schools resulting from residential segregation has been the "open enrollment" program initiated by New York City last year. Under this plan, all pupils from twenty-one junior high schools with Negro and Puerto Rican enrollments ranging from eighty to 100 per cent were given the opportunity to enroll in twenty-eight other schools that were being used at less than ninety per cent of capacity and that had Negro and Puerto Rican enrollments ranging from four-tenths of one per cent to twenty-four per cent. While only 524 pupils registered under the open enrollment program in the fall of 1960, the first year of the plan, the program worked out so well—both in terms of community acceptance of the idea and improved school performance—that a large scale expansion took place in the fall of 1961. Some 2,830 pupils in ninety-five schools with heavy Negro and Puerto Rican enrollments were accepted under the program; at the same time, the number of "receiving" schools was increased from twenty-eight to ninety. In addition, some 2,669 sixth-graders were enrolled in thirty-one "receiving" junior high schools from 120 "sending" elementary schools. Finally, an experimental program was launched under which 296 children entering the first and second grades were permitted to register in sixteen out-of-neighborhood schools. Free bus transportation is provided when the new school is more than a half-mile from the child's home.

The open enrollment privilege is not extended on a racial or ethnic basis; a white student in a predominantly Negro or Puerto Rican school may also exercise the option to enroll in one of the receiving schools. Nevertheless, the designation of schools in Puerto Rican and Negro neighborhoods as "sending" schools means in practice that almost all the children exercising the right to enroll in another school are Negro and Puerto Rican. The open enrollment program is, therefore, almost a complete break with the concept of the mandatory neighborhood school. Since the plan does not rest on a racial or ethnic base and can also be defended as a device to prevent overcrowding of individual schools, it should withstand legal attacks based on claims that the plan is unconstitutional and discriminatory. It offers what appears to be the most effective approach yet devised to give children in segregated schools the opportunity to a racially-integrated education.

Transporting pupils by bus, open enrollment, redrawing district lines, and any other of the techniques that have been successfully employed to reduce *de facto* segregation in the North cannot in themselves wipe out the enormous disability of being born into a society that still subjects the Negro (along with the Puerto Rican in New York and the Mexican in California) to an inferior status in the kind of work he does and the kind of home he lives in. Yet if the Negro, the Puerto Rican, and the Mexican are to make their full contributions to American life, it will happen only if they enjoy the right to the equality in education which the Constitution and the Supreme Court say is theirs. The time is long past when the men and women who administer public education in the North can continue to evade the full measure of responsibility they bear to make this promise of equality come true.

A PSYCHOLOGIST EXAMINES

Our Collective Madness

by HOWARD E. GRUBER

TALK OF THE psychopathology of war may conjure up images of frankly psychotic individuals, themselves lost to the world, suddenly possessed of the means to destroy it. We should not entirely dismiss this possibility, for the history of political power—from Nero to Hitler—has never been free of the suspicion of outright individual insanity.

But that is hardly the main problem. A greater threat is a form of collective insanity in which we prepare to kill tens or hundreds of millions of people in other countries with no hope of gaining anything except, supposedly, a slightly lower casualty rate in our own country.

Sober estimates of the number of deaths occurring in the first two months following a one or two day thermonuclear war run from twenty-five per cent to seventy-five per cent of our population, the higher estimates being the more plausible. The political system that would emerge from the shelters with the survivors would be determined not so much by our political heritage as by the emergency conditions of life they would face for many years. Life might be distinguishable from death, but victory would be indistinguishable from defeat.

Faced with such prospects, it is totally irrational to contemplate thermonuclear war as a defense of our present way of life or as a solution to present political problems.

The peculiar thing about this collectivity of death is that the individuals preparing it are, for the most part, individually sane and intelligent. The scientists on both sides are sound, the military men are sound, and so are the statesmen—I repeat, for the most part. The individuals are sound, but the combination is sick.

What is the essence of this pathology?

Its essence is the failure of civilized man to evolve appropriate new social institutions to manage a powerful new technology. Society changes fairly slowly. Technology changes rapidly.

This unbalanced growth is especially marked today, when vast sums are spent on research to find new ways of changing technology, but those in charge of spending these funds, the political leaders of each country, have no desire to provoke important changes in the societies they enjoy governing.

In the process of biological evolution the conditions favoring the extinction of a species are extreme evolution along some lines of development, coupled with loss of capacity for change along other lines. The world inhabited by any species is always changing: Only those species that can continue to change to meet new conditions can be expected to survive.

Similarly, in the process of social evolution, a society that becomes

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overcommitted to adaptations suitable for a single historical situation may lose that capacity for change which is essential to survival.

A great deal of our thinking about international affairs is dominated by the notion that the world is divided into two great social orders, We and They, one of which will prevail. But considering their short and troubled histories, it is foolish to behave as though either of the major contending systems—We or They—can lay any settled claim to the future. Just as historians today describe the decline of feudalism and the evolution of mercantile capitalism, historians a few hundred years from now—if there are any—will describe the evolution of new social orders out of today's struggles. We cannot avoid social evolution, but we can have some influence on its course. In particular, by means of thermonuclear war, we can arrange matters so that future civilizations have little or no historical connection with Ours—or Theirs—which will have perished, leaving only remnants that no one will wish to preserve. Or, we can recognize that We and They are both but transitory phases in the social evolution of man, thus enabling ourselves to take a more detached and flexible look at the problem of international conflict. There are more alternatives than We—or—They, and we need to set about looking for them.

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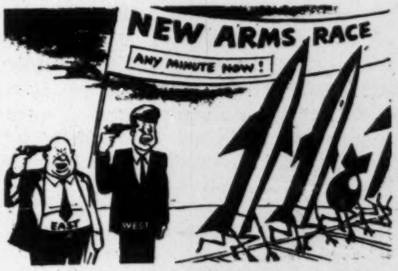
Social scientists spend relatively little effort thinking about the future of social evolution. Much of the discussion of acculturation is overly static, in that it presupposes culture change from primitive beginnings to a fixed endpoint: the way We live now. Or, of course, the way They live now. Instead, we ought to allow ourselves to think through alternative models of social evolution which combine the emergence of totally new social inventions with existing ones appropriately gathered from the totality of contemporary society. What will the area we now call the United States be like when it has a billion inhabitants, universal higher education, a twenty-hour work week, and an average longevity of 100 years?

The study of the future is not much more speculative than the study of the past, and it might free our thinking so that we can escape from the dangerous crisis mentality in which the world is divided into two unchanging orders, We and They.

George Bernard Shaw once wrote that a fanatic is a person who, having lost sight of his objectives, redoubles his efforts. I take it that our prime objectives are the preservation of human life and of the opportunity for man to evolve from where he is now to some unknown but enjoyable future. If a complex chain of thought leads to the conclusion that the wholesale destruction of human life and the reversion of human existence to the ugly aftermath of thermonuclear war is, under certain specified conditions, an acceptable solution to our problems, then there is something wrong with that chain of thought.

One difficulty in rejecting such arguments, however, is the intimidating way in which they are invested with the trappings of science—theoretical models, statistical assumptions, and computer technology. But theoretical models almost always contain errors, statistical assumptions are at best approximations, and computers often go wrong. In scientific work, these errors are part of the game, but they are not fatal. We check and re-check our work, we test the same idea in a variety of ways, and we examine its plausibility in the light of larger conceptions.

Imagine, if you will, an electronic computer printing out the conclusion that the earth was blown up yesterday. We would automatically decide, on the basis of larger considerations, that something had gone wrong with the computer. Now if a computer tells us that we should blow up the world, or a large part of it, tomorrow, we have an equal need for a larger set of conceptions that tell us the computer is wrong.



Franklin in The London Daily Mirror

"Ready . . . steady . . ."

In this sense, moral codes—such as the prohibition of genocide—are not mere emotionalism. They are rational checks on the correctness of intellectual operations. Our belief in the value of every human life is not mere liberal softness: It is the theoretical framework that tells us whether or not a strategic conclusion is within the bounds of reason.

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Now, if the individuals engaged in strategic thinking are—as individuals—sane and moral men, this may suggest that they would not accept conclusions violating the extremely simple morality in question.

But the moral problem is not so simple. One of the great social discoveries of man is the need to struggle for what we believe, sometimes even at the cost of life itself. In the thermonuclear age, the morality of human survival confronts most sharply the morality of struggle for principle. Now, in defending a principle with your own life, the presumption is made that you preserve the principle for other men to enjoy. If, however, your struggle takes a form that kills other men by the millions and creates conditions that make the principle meaningless, your death is worthless. Therefore, forms of struggle must be found that defend the principle without destroying life itself. The failure to recognize and resolve this dilemma has led to the pathologically one-sided morality which sees thermonuclear war as a potential solution to political problems.

There is a kind of Gresham's Law about moral behavior. The number of casualties acceptable in war is determined as much by the going moral standards as by military capability. Remember, when we prepare ourselves militarily to inflict twenty to sixty million casualities upon another country, we prepare them morally to inflict a like number on ourselves.

Early in this discussion I permitted myself to accept an important change in fundamental moral assumptions. I spoke of the danger that our *civilization* might perish even though some individuals would survive. This is a profound change in the unit of strategic analysis. Those who have learned to think in terms of megaton bombs have also learned to think of survival and death in terms of megapersons. Although I like to think of myself as a modern man, I have not come that far. For me, an individual life is not a small fraction of a megaperson, it is an individual life. If we abandon that fundamental unit of moral analysis it is only to provide ourselves with a rationalization, an intellectual facade, because no matter how tough we are, we have not yet learned to look squarely at the human horror of thermonuclear war.

In his book, *The Uncertain Trumpet,* General Maxwell Taylor has described the confused and shifting strategic thinking of our own security establishments—the National Security Council and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is probably safe to assume that the same moral and strategic confusion prevails in other countries as well. The military men examine seriously only a narrow range of alternatives, from Limited War to Unlimited War. We can help them to broaden their perspectives by injecting into the public discussion a much wider range of possibilities.

The world has been playing an international game of blindman's buff, with two blind men. If this game continues, they will eventually collide, and the game will be over. So long as we maintain the thermonuclear military establishment, we perpetuate the threat of thermonuclear war. In this case, mutual deterrence is mutual madness.

We need to dismantle the thermonuclear military establishment, and if that means total disarmament, so be it. Disarmament must become a national objective. We do not yet know how to achieve it. Only through widespread discussion on an international scale will we find the way. Social scientists and other intellectuals can contribute to that end by widening the scope of the discussion—by using their own tools of trade: reading, thinking, speaking, writing. Such discussions are more than an intellectual exercise; they can be a direct demonstration of how to take disagreements off the level of violent conflict and pursue them on the level of rational discussion among rational men.

Violence ON THE AIR

by SHERWOOD ROSS

In the quiet, tree-shaded town of Wauseon, Ohio, a typical small midwestern farm community, a grieving mother broke the news of an uncle's death to her three-year-old son, who inquired: "Who shot him?" Knowing that the child's presumption of violence sprang from his addiction to television, the distressed woman wrote an angry letter to the Federal Communications Commission. It was only one of 330 such letters written by residents of surrounding Fulton County, a conservative, and once placid community recently stunned by two stabbings perpetrated by thirteen-year-old boys. One youth knifed a twelve-year-old girl to death on a school bus; the other stabbed his principal with a five-inch-blade, "intending to kill." Like many other Fulton County residents, its prosecuting attorney, John H. Barber, has nailed his indictment to the door of the television industry. "While we do not have any firm evidence of a causal relation to TV," he said, "we do know both boys had free access to their TV sets and spent considerable time watching pictures of crime and violence . . . We have never had anything like these cases in this county before."

Across the nation today, millions of Americans are haunted by the growing suspicion that TV violence has a corrosive effect on the public conscience in general, and on juveniles in particular. Even the most cursory observer will note that the indexes of juvenile crime—which President Kennedy has stated is costing the nation $5 billion annually—have taken their most pronounced and alarming upturn since the advent of television. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff has announced that 1959 marked the eleventh consecutive year in which court delinquency cases and police arrests of juveniles increased over the previous year. He noted that these indexes have more than doubled since 1948, although the juvenile population has increased by less than one half.

The letters from Wauseon are but part of a vast flood of mail—about a quarter of a million pieces—which has inundated the offices of FCC Chairman Newton N. Minow, the Federal marshal deputized by President Kennedy to bring law and order to that new frontier of American life, our violent airwaves. Minow, a thirty-five-year-old attorney who formerly shared the Chicago offices of Adlai Stevenson, is an affable, thick-featured egghead whose horn-rimmed focus has disconcerted fearful network executives to the point of launching a "get Minow" movement. Their unrest dates back to Minow's brash, history-making "vast wasteland" address before the National Association of Broadcasters last May, a literary affront unsurpassed in New Frontier phrase-making. Minow's blunt cadences are still graying hairs among network chiefs grown accustomed to an FCC whose putty-like "public" servants kowtowed to an industry in which the public interest had, and still has, virtually no place. Said Minow:

"I invite you to sit down in front of your television set . . . You

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will see a procession of game shows, violence, audience participation shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, Western badmen, Western goodmen, private eyes, gangsters, and cartoons. And, endlessly, commercials—many screaming, cajoling, and offending. And most of all, boredom . . . And if you think I exaggerate, try it."

* * *

If network officials took Minow's advice, it was not evident in their testimony before the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, headed by Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut Democrat. Those in policy-making roles in the television industry have tended to uphold program content, while those who follow their dicta—notably writers and producers—have attacked progam quality, often with astonishing bitterness. When comedian George Jessel gagged that his mother has changed her line from "Every morning I bring the violets" to "Every morning I bring the violence," an ABC vice president, Thomas W. Moore, asserted his network endeavors to avoid misplaced sympathy for villains and that sociologists have not proved a link exists between television's badmen and the national crime rate. His view got a literary lift from Warner Brothers, where the Old West profitably lingers on, if only in thirty-minute celluloid segments. The studio's William T. Orr, vice president in charge of production, likened today's TV to Homer, the Bible, and Shakespeare, on grounds that "*Macbeth* has murder in every act; *Hamlet* runs it a close second," and "There is hardly a book or a play that would be considered a classic . . . that doesn't extend human emotion to the point of violence."

It is piety of this sort which has given the hearings their unreal, otherworld atmosphere. It is not every day that spokesmen for an industry in which *Omnibus* has no place have retained Homer as counsel for the defense. Perhaps it is a revealing gauge of the TV industry's sense of reality that Orr, whose studios grind out *Cheyenne,* a series noted for bizarre tortures, can compare such flicks to the Bible.

Only six years ago, industry officials summoned to Washington argued eloquently that the NAB's Television Code Review Board possessed machinery to act "quickly and effectively" in a manner that would justify national confidence in broadcasters to regulate themselves with respect to "good taste and judgment," yet without "limiting in any sense the arena for creative thought." These remarks of the late Harold Fellows, NAB president, were seconded by the vice presidents of CBS and NBC. The NAB then announced it was contemplating a step-up of its "juvenile responsibility program" and "broadening of its monitoring operation," among other things, and no more came of the matter until last year's ubiquitous outbreak of crime shows. This fresh evidence of broken faith stirred up widespread antagonism among the press and public, resulting in still more unkept pledges for reform by network officials, and the skeptical approach of the Subcommittee chairman.

Senator Dodd's witnesses for the public consisted of a parade of authorities ranging from sociologists and criminologists to TV writers and directors. They made a strong case against the TV industry yielding such a thick chunk of its time to violence glorifying crime. In his opening statement, Senator Dodd reminded the networks that violence-packed shows have tripled since Fellows testified for "good taste and judgment." He charged that crime programs appearing on prime viewing time increased from sixteen per cent in 1954 to fifty per cent in 1961.

Clara S. Logan, president of the National Association for Better Radio and Television, testified to an upturn in crime shows during hours when the number of children viewers is greatest. In one week, she said, the Association counted 144 murders, fifty-two "justifiable" homicides, several massacres, and other assorted gore pumped into the Los Angeles area on shows broadcast before nine p.m. The Association also claimed that NBC shows monitored in the City of the Angels revealed a 500 per cent increase in killings during a spring week in 1958 compared to a like period six years earlier.

If TV's role in disgorging cheap violence in American living rooms is incontestable, the question of its effect on the public is not easily answered. Milton G. Rector, executive director of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, says TV is stimulating American youth to aggressive behavior while glamorizing "the criminal who has prospered for many years before his downfall in the last three minutes of the program." There may be considerable merit in this approach if one considers that six of TV's Top Ten rated programs last year, viewed weekly by thirty to forty-five million persons, trafficked in violence. In order of popularity, these programs were *Wagon Train, Gunsmoke, The Real McCoys, Have Gun, Will Travel, 77 Sunset Strip, Danny Thomas, Perry Mason, Candid Camera, Ed Sullivan, and The Untouchables.*

* * *

The response of the nation's press to the effect of such fare on nearly 180 million Americans clustered around fifty-five million TV sets an average of five hours daily, seems to depend on whether or not the publisher owns a TV channel. According to a Chicago *Tribune* critic, whose paper operates WGN-TV, the Top Ten listed above are popular because "people prefer passion, conflict, excitement, and daring in their drama." On the other side of Michigan Boulevard, in the offices of Chicago's *Daily News,* which runs no TV outlet, television fare is "cheap and brutal and vicious and simply not good enough for us" and it "corrupts the minds of little children."

An impartial viewpoint is hard to come by. Perhaps one of the best is *Television in the Lives of Our Children,* recently brought out by Stanford University. While this work does not blame TV for anti-social behavior, it does contend that the medium contributes to "damaging and stunting" of the emotional lives of some children addicted to it. When one considers that the average child between three and sixteen years of age spends as much time in front of the TV sets as in the classroom, and that about four million children in this age group watch *The Untouchables*, it is difficult to doubt the seriousness of the impact. One authority, Robert H. MacRae, director of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, feels that TV, along with the other mass media, has cheapened human life and personality.

A stronger point of view, one much in keeping with Rector's, is that television crime shows lead directly to criminal behavior. The editors of *Christian Century* magazine, for instance, have documented at least one case in which a young grocery clerk looted the till shortly after viewing a Hitchcock presentation. A poll of inmates in two Federal youth institutions reported by James V. Bennett, director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, reveals that one quarter of those interviewed believed such programs "were in some way responsible for their conflict with the law."

Probably the most incisive statement yet read into the Subcommittee record was that of Norman Cousins, editor of *The Saturday Review*, who observed:

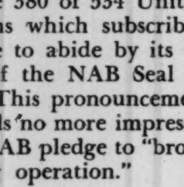
> "The TV operators made all sorts of claims about the power of their medium to sell all sorts of goods. They boast about the ease with which they dominate the fashions of teen-agers just by having TV stars dress in a certain way. Yet they see no cause-and-effect relationship between what they show on the screen and the increasing addiction of young people to cheap violence."

In the face of the barrage laid down by Minow, Dodd, segments of the press, pressure groups, and the public, the TV industry has been waging an impressive rearguard action, yielding ground grudgingly and concealing its retreat with a thick smokescreen of new promises and holy vows. Directing these efforts is NAB President Leroy Collins, a former Florida governor whose deft chairmanship of the Democratic National Convention last year was as impressive and polished a performance as TV viewers enjoyed in the days before *Playhouse 90* and *Studio One* were dropped because they lacked "mass audience appeal." Collins, a suave, handsome, and convincing salesman, is a past master of the smokescreen technique. While publicized as a "moderate" among reactionary Gulf State governors, his tenure in Tallahassee was virtually unblemished by the "stain" of integration, although school districts elsewhere in Dixie were opening their doors to Negro pupils.

If the network officials have their way, Collins will protect the public from the "unnecessary and undeserving" violence he concedes afflicts the airwaves. He will also obstruct progress in the form of changes recommended by Minow and the Senate, notably the licensing of the networks, a move that is anathema to the industry. In his testimony, the NAB head denied any link between crime and TV and then announced that "violence for the sake of violence . . . which seriously downgrades the television art" should be eliminated through "the efforts of the broadcasters themselves." Collins said that much has already been done and that the NAB had agreed to his suggestion to open an enforcement office. Purportedly, this office would compel the 380 of 534 United States TV stations which subscribe to the NAB Code to abide by its tenets or face loss of the NAB Seal of Good Practices. This pronouncement, however, sounds no more impressive than the 1955 NAB pledge to "broaden the monitoring operation."

* * *

Feared loss of the seal hardly keeps broadcasters awake nights. Only one has ever lost the seal, and it was because of false advertising rather than programming of violence. Moreover, ABC, said to sponsor "the cheapest type of programs," does not subscribe to the NAB Code or covet its seal, and the other networks have not taken the Code seriously. Dr. Ralph J. Garry, Boston University professor of educational psychology, testified that surveys reveal widespread violation of the NAB Code provision on crime.



The new NAB gambit to establish an enforcement office to police individual broadcasters must be inspiring mirth in some quarters. The "option time" rule which compels network affiliates to program the gore demanded by the networks and Madison Avenue means that an individual station is not the master of its own house. To charge a channel in Fort Wayne, Indiana, with violation of the NAB Seal for showing a crime show forced on it by New York is ludicrous. One might as well blame the steering wheel when the driver makes an illegal turn.

It is doubtful that the FCC will be content with the mild slap on the wrists which Collins proposes for the TV industry. The danger is that the networks, trimming sail as usual during the current storm of protest, will tack back to their old course once the public outcry subsides. To date, TV's gestures of reform are grossly unconvincing. CBS reportedly rejected one episode of *Gunsmoke* until its West Coast contractor reshot an objectionable scene; NBC announced plans for a Saturday newscast designed for teenagers. Nevertheless public service shows, at least as far as the networks are concerned, appear to be on the way out. George Polk, of Batten, Barton, Durstine, & Osborne, told *Time:* "The networks put the public service shows on this year to get the government off their backs. It worked. Now the networks are sneaking them out as fast as they can. In another two years, they'll be entirely out of prime time."

But the public and the advertiser may be one move ahead of the broadcasters. Much to the surprise of CBS and NBC network officials, practically all of their beefed-up public service time has been bought by sponsors, who sense an increased public interest in this type of program.

Yet even this encouraging development does little to cure the basic sickness in television programming. For all the public outcry, the Congressional inquiries, the letters of protest, and the FCC warning, this season's television appears to be "the bloodiest ever." Half of prime evening time has been surrendered to cowboys, killers, and private eyes; much of the remainder is devoted to cheap situation comedies. Does the public count? Spokesmen for twenty-one million Italian-Americans protested vigorously against *The Untouchables*, but the show goes on.

Television is a sick industry, and a strong likelihood exists that it is communicating its sickness to a disturbed society in a disturbed age. Its promises are made of paper; its profits are made from mayhem. Its architects of program content have left shanties, not skyscrapers, as memorials to themselves. Like the Pied Piper, the industry has lured tens of millions of human beings, including millions of little children, into a vicarious world more violent than any which exists even in our time. The officials of the unlicensed and unregulated networks are men who live outside the law, not by their design but by our failure. For them, there are no laws, nor will there be, unless the President and the Congress take action. In the past, the network chiefs have incontestably influenced a nation which had no choice but to tolerate their caprice. No Hearst ever wielded the power of a Sarnoff; no newspaper chain ever determined taste as does a network; no publishing empire ever reached so many millions so often and so intimately.

The domination of the networks has been as great on Pennsylvania Avenue as on Main Street. Over the years their power has made itself felt in the White House, the FCC, and the Congress—authorities which, at least until this year, let the networks have their way. In the current debate over TV violence and TV licensing, the manner in which these powerful men have abused their power and broken faith with the public ought not be forgotten. To the network chiefs, there is nothing sacred on TV, unless it is the sop thrown to religion in the form of a Sunday morning hymnal or a sign-off sermon. The protests of mothers and minority groups are ignored; the needs of informing a nation go unmet.

If the nation does not license the networks and establish and enforce a set of standards in the name of the general welfare, it has no right to expect better treatment at the hands of the NAB, whose Seal of Good Practices will likely be ignored by those who create and disseminate the violence which fills our homes and probably our streets.

Private Philanthropy and Public Welfare

by Edward T. Chase

There is at least one key difference between the approach of the United States toward the care of its troubled and victimized and that of the rest of the advanced nations of this welfare-state world. The difference lies in the extraordinary degree of voluntarism in our health and welfare services. It is expressed both by the extent to which key services are financed and performed by private individuals and by the extent to which responsibility is left to myriad local autonomies.

But for all its virtue, it is this voluntary aspect that also largely explains the incessant bickering, confusion, and anxiety that increasingly characterize health and welfare fields. (The two are inextricably fused; for example, illness is now the greatest single threat to economic security.) Health and welfare matters, to such a large degree voluntary, are over-organized and yet in a state of confusion. Americans are unsure both of what should be done and who should do it.

One consequence of this is that there are major studies under way fearfully weighing the survival chances of voluntary philanthropy. No less a figure than Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Abraham A. Ribicoff stated recently at the National Conference of Social Workers that "the nation is just drifting in the welfare field" and that a whole new approach is needed. And the countrywide debate over Newburgh's (New York) "get tough" welfare policy has disclosed profound public ignorance and a melange of conflicting views and antagonisms.

Yet it is not that Americans do not care. On the contrary. They now do for the first time what Moses proposed in 1300 B. C. That is, they tithe. Americans are now giving, in contributions and taxes, one tenth of the gross national product in support of private and public philanthropic works and social welfare programs, according to the findings of the National Bureau of Economic Research. In recent years philanthropic spending has grown faster than both personal income and population, while the purchasing power of the dollar has declined. For the first time, Americans topped the eight billion dollar mark in private giving last year—$8.2 compared to $7.8 in 1959 and $7.1 in 1958.

Much of the dissatisfaction over our handling of health and welfare reflects our affluence: America's very wealth dramatizes our increased capacity to cope more effectively with social problems. It highlights any deficiencies in our public services. There is another pressure causing uneasiness: the cold war, which creates a pressure to excel, or at least to present a persuasive example for the rest of the world of how we, as a society, resolve social problems. Probably no areas in the cold war are more sensitive than health and welfare. Most conservatives and liberals alike will agree that either Americans solve such problems as medical care for the elderly, urban slums, juvenile delinquency, and a new kind of dependency leading to para-

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sitism deriving from such causes as structural unemployment, illness, family breakdown, and ignorance—or putting an American on the moon first will be starkly irrelevant.

* * *

Now, these immense contemporary pressures for improvement in health and welfare programs threaten our unique system of private voluntary support because such pressures call for greater efficiency. Efficiency, however, requires a rationalization of resources. Rationalization always leads to the institutionalizing of services, which leads to central planning, with the inevitable turn to government, particularly the national government. It was precisely this kind of development—rationalizing the use of resources—that produced the British National Health Service. The seemingly irreversible world trend toward rationalizing activities is currently being reflected in the United States in everything from regional planning of hospitals to the United Fund movement. Liberals and conservatives frequently can define their differences in terms of their attitude toward this basic development.

Several recent books, one likely destined to be a classic in its field, help clarify the ferment in health and welfare. The best of them, *Doctors, Patients and Health Insurance* by the husband-wife writing team of Herman M. and Anne R. Somers (Brookings Institution) is a tremendous accomplishment. Its merit lies in the thoroughness with which it reviews every project, institution, and program of interest in health care and the comprehensiveness with which it surveys the vast current literature and tackles each substantial issue. The underlying theme of the book is the trend toward institutionalized care, with the doctor but one member of a coordinated health care team, and the conflicts and hostilities engendered by this trend.

It is no criticism of the book to remark that for one reader, at least, among its most provocative contributions are the perceptive quotations from its sources, some of which are difficult or virtually impossible to come by. They are employed by the authors to raise fundamental questions about social justice, allocation of limited resources, genetic deterioration, and over-population—the great issues that are destined to haunt health and welfare in the all-too-near future. These issues will be more comprehensible if approached after first considering points developed in other recent studies.

One of these is *The Gentle Legions* by Richard Carter (Doubleday), an elegantly professional writing job by a bright and knowledgeable journalist bent on getting to the bottom of the united fund-national health organization row. Carter manages to make this tiresome but significant controversy meaningful by the richness of his concrete detail about the principal health organizations and their fund-raising drives and by the intelligence of his defense of these independent health agencies as against the local united fund approach. He accords to the united fund movement just one accomplishment: it has corrected the abuse of over-lapping multiple solicitations in factories and offices. On the other hand, he goes overboard for the national health agencies, such as The American Cancer Society, The National Tuberculosis Association, The American Heart Association, The American Red Cross, and others, on two grounds: they are democratically responsive (as opposed to what he terms the "big brother" approach of the united funders, which he resents as autocratic, impersonal and bureaucratic), and they are "the fullest exercise of authentic voluntarism." It is refreshing to encounter Carter's spirited reminder of how much essential social work is achieved by the "gentle legions," as he calls them, of women doing voluntary social work. How we could manage without their ministrations is a puzzle, unless total takeover by the state is considered an acceptable solution. Not only are the 8.2 billion dollars in private philanthropic giving in large measure women's work (incidentally, four-fifths of the total amount comes from some fifty-eight million taxpayers, not from corporations and foundations), but there is a hard-to-measure nonmonetary contribution, too. Alfred de Grazia and Ted Gurr in their recent book, *American Welfare* (New York University Press), try to measure it. They give a "book value" of $3.5 billion to the annual unpaid public activity in America devoted to welfare by about four million private individuals.

But de Grazia and Gurr provide a salutary balance to Carter's rather euphoric study by conceding that a good deal of this frenetic do-good activity is "bootless." There would appear to be no room for complacency. Indeed there is evidence that monies and energies are being badly wasted and the public is often misled, according to a just-released study on the national voluntary health organizations by a twenty-one-man *ad hoc* committee of the Rockefeller Foundation directed by Dr. Robert H. Hamlin of the Harvard School of Public Health.

Dr. Hamlin does not make sensational claims of fraud. He is concerned, nevertheless, over lack of proper accounting systems and over the inefficiencies inherent in such a multiplicity of small local affiliated societies—more than 100,000 of them. He believes the smaller ones should be combined into a single chapter. He contends that the Federal government should supervise the voluntary agencies to ensure standardized accounting systems. Such government regulation would not only help the agencies perform more efficiently, says Dr. Hamlin. It would also assure that more specific information is made available to the public on actual programs, what the real purposes of agencies are, and how funds are being used—information of a kind too often hard to get now.

* * *

Dr. Hamlin's charges—termed "appallingly baseless" by National (Polio) Foundation president Basil O'Connor, a man second to none in suffering criticism ungladly—include characterization of veterans' organizations as the worst offender, criticism of poor staffing and self-centered jealousies, criticism of inadequate consolidation of operations, and claims that so-called educational activities are in fact not educational but fund raising. Indeed, perhaps Dr. Hamlin's most telling, if anticipated, disclosure is that more than half of the $292,000,000 collected by fifty-six major national voluntary health and welfare agencies went, not into action programs, but into fund raising, organizational expenses, and "education."

Dr. Hamlin's disenchantment with the voluntary agencies prompted him to tell me that he felt Carter's book "dangerous, because it promotes complaceny in the agencies." Dr. Hamlin's anxieties about complacency are widely shared among the most thoughtful observers of health and welfare. Generosity and the private sacrifices of millions do not in themselves assure effective programs. The brilliant address by philosopher Charles Frankel of Columbia at the National Conference of Social Workers this year bore directly on this point. "Why, then, are we so apologetic about our wealth, so worried about our alleged materialism?" asked Frankel. "Obviously because we haven't yet put this extraordinary opulence to work that we can respect. In any society, and particularly in a rich one, men need a sense that there are large projects under way. . . . No other society today has a better chance to demonstrate what the possibilities for human well-being might be," said Frankel, but we falter in this task and are creating a world-wide "image which has made millions abroad associate us with the past rather than with the future."

Frankel then proceeded to clarify Secretary Ribicoff's comment that America was simply drifting in health and welfare. He demonstrated that the root trouble was that instead of deliberately constructing permanent institutions for preventing social problems, we have persisted in dealing with them on an *"ad hoc,* retrospective" basis, always from the therapeutic and remedial viewpoint, as if they were "accidents," like an act of crime. Americans do this, he said, because they mistakenly believe that in this manner they will preserve individual initiative and liberty, whereas the exact opposite is true. What is essential is "sound social planning" if we are to avoid over-centralization since the true purpose of such planning is "to simplify, to rationalize—to provide a stable set of alternatives in which individuals are freer to act."

Excessive interference in the life of the individual by the authority is actually a concomitant of the *ad hoc* approach and lack of social planning, Frankel claimed. He offered this analogy to explain his somewhat paradoxical notion. "Let's imagine a man who refuses to go on a regular regimen of physical exercise and decent diet that his doctor prescribes for him. He doesn't take any planned program, or planned approach to the problem of maintaining his health. What happens? As a result the doctor comes to his house every week—he intervenes in the man's life—the fellow feels he has no freedom at all—the doctor's always around—and all the medical bills are very high."

* * *

American health and welfare activities suffer from this same deficiency, with resultant mounting costs and a hodgepodge of meddlesome governmental interventions, Frankel said. Thus we treat the migration into cities of the colored and disadvantaged from rural areas—a root source of so many of the problems in health and welfare—as an accident (though it has been under way for 150 years), instead of planning permanent agencies to prevent the problems—for example, institutions, with a status equal to our schools, for the re-training and relocation of these individuals. In this connection, Frankel pointed out that one of the chief justifications of our system of decentralized capitalist competition is that it encourages invention and innovation. This, in an age of science, inevitably leads to technological unemployment. So, far from being an example of a welfare problem caused by our society's malfunctioning, technological unemployment must be viewed as evidence our system is doing well, Frankel contended. "It is the price we pay for our success, the inevitable defect that goes with our virtue," and hence our response must be deliberate planning, not short-range, patchwork expedients to an "emergency," for these don't work; they are costly and augment rather than diminish the "government interference" Americans fear.

It is Frankel's paradox that the

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health and welfare problems of today and tomorrow are the creatures of our social yearnings for progress in the immediate past. Leisure, hitherto a coveted ideal, becomes a burden for the burgeoning population of the old, now denied a role in the work force and blessed with longevity but cursed with ever-increasing morbidity—non-fatal chronic afflictions. (The decrease in mortality rates and increase in morbidity are a prominent theme in the Somers' book, too, in which the authors, like Frankel, identify this trend as a fundamental source of disruption in the organization of health and medical care.) Similarly, child labor laws, admirable accomplishments of an earlier era, now must be modified, suggested Frankel, because all too often the curse of modern American youth is that they cannot find any useful work. A brilliant, if at times eccentric, elaboration of this point is made by Paul Goodman in his recent book, *Growing Up Absurd* (Random House).

Where Goodman differs fundamentally with Frankel, who in essence is advocating adding institutions to, rather than condemning, our existing order is in suggesting that our whole system is cockeyed, with juvenile delinquency perhaps the most dramatic sign. A fascinating study has recently been published by two sociologists, Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, that does more to clarify why "the system" produces delinquency than anything else I have encountered. Called *Delinqency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs* (Free Press), the Cloward-Ohlin analysis impressively demonstrates that the underlying cause of juvenile delinquency is to be found in the discrepancy between our asserted system of equal opportunity for all and the harsh realities of unequal opportunity, most manifest in the case of Negroes. They show that lower class gang delinquency is "normal" behavior; it is the group's solution for unjust deprivations ("unjust" because qualified people are rejected) that arise from the fact of the discrepancy between the numbers who compete for opportunities and the relatively limited supply of opportunities for those who are disadvantaged from the start—poor motivations, insufficient education, no social sophistication, deficient parental guidance, poor inner discipline resulting from demoralization. Alienated as they are, with no loyalties to conventional society, they are quite free from guilt in breaking the rules of the world of squares. Delinquency happens to take the gang form under conditions such as our vast urban slums where large numbers are alienated and seek a collective response to their rebuff. They fortify each other's contempt for the conventional world.

* * *

The practical lesson that emerges from Cloward and Ohlin on how we beat this situation is neither novel nor simple. It is that widespread and fundamental economic, political, and social reforms are the only answer, that there are no short-cuts, and that individual psychological therapy is inexpedient and unavailing. If those concerned with progress in welfare are overwhelmed with the magnitude of this task, requiring as it does a sustained, multi-faced assault from every quarter in order to effect reforms on the necessary scale, then they might lose heart altogether if they ponder the dismal prospects advanced by the Somers' book and by Dr. Hermann J. Muller, the Nobel prize geneticist (writing in *Daedalus*, summer 1961 issue, and in the Dartmouth College conference report, *The Great Issues of Conscience in Modern Medicine*). The problem they pose is that modern science has reached the point where its benefactions, in the form of preserving lives, are now for the first time uneconomic in the fullest sense of the word.

The phenomenon of decreasing mortality rates and increasing morbidity because more of the elderly live on into advanced age is but one aspect of this. The Somers introduce their discussion by referring to the writings of the British physician Ffrangcon Roberts. Roberts has concerned himself (in *The Cost of Health*) with the economic criteria for the distribution of health resources. "Medicated survival" is his wry term for our accomplishments in forestalling death. He classifies disease as either "proplutic," wherein the cure is economically justified since it restores the patient as a functioning member of society; or "antiplutic," wherein society remains burdened despite treatment because the disease is of old age or of children with congenital defects—the very success of the treatment exacerbates the cost to society.

Historically, up to now, expenditures for medical care and welfare have been rationalized as money savers since they have increased productivity; it is well established that this explains the motivations for the alleged altruists among the reform-minded English industrialists of the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. But now, as the population boom accelerates and resources become strained, increased spending on health and welfare can be justified on moral and humanitarian grounds alone.

But can they be? Dr. Muller's message for those concerned with health and welfare is that the time is not far off, thanks to modern medical science, when man will be devoting a madly disproportionate amount of his resources and energies to support a community overpopulated with those not pulling their weight. "A negative feedback from culture to genetics has now set in," he writes, because science is preserving into their reproductive years persons with detrimental genes. By Muller's calculations about twenty per cent of the human race, or every fifth individual, carries a detrimental gene that occurred in the preceding generation. Until now matters have been tolerable since the defectives usually have died or, because of their condition, have not reproduced. This is no longer true and the devil of it, according to Muller, is that those with superior intelligence and character reproduce themselves the least, while those who are shiftless, superstitious, dull, and irresponsible reproduce themselves the most. Muller thus calls for a revolution in world *mores* whereby somehow man can face up to the need for selectivity in reproduction and devise means to achieve it.

The speculations that Muller's contentions give rise to can be scary in the extreme. One is reminded (explicitly by the Somers) of Hitler's race purification program. The notorious Reichs Institute dealt with the genetically unfit by dispensing fatal doses of barbiturates. Dr. Muller's concern for man to exercise discrimination in procreation is of a different order of thought.

If this seems somewhat speculative, it is all too concrete a problem for the welfare caseworker assigned, for example, to our city "ghettos for psychopaths," wherein the so-called multi-problem families exist. The older case-worker today is beginning to encounter successive generations of dependents, a new kind of parasitic subculture wherein the illegitimate offspring of unwed or deserted mothers on relief inexorably repeat the parental precedent. Perhaps the most graphic documentation of this appears in a novel entitled *The Inhabitants* (World Publishing Company) by a social investigator for New York City's Department of Welfare, Julius Horwitz.

Horwitz has undergone the devastating experience of working for years in the upper west side of Manhattan. After his book appeared Horwitz was asked to testify before the New York State Legislature's Subcommittee on Public Welfare, which concerned itself with the whole public assistance program. When questioned as to whether he had any criticism of this program, Horwitz answered no.

"There is almost nothing you can think of, no condition of life, that can't be met by public assistance," Horwitz testified, going on to say that, because of this, for the newly arrived Puerto Ricans the system is viewed as something magical.

What has overwhelmed Horwitz as a man of profound compassion and sensibility is the disparity between the formal excellence of the law and its intent and the actual way people are allowed to exist. "If I were to establish a purpose for the book [*The Inhabitants*] I would say that the purpose was to recreate this peculiar world that I observed working for the Department and to make this world have meaning for people who never enter it. . . . I was hoping that the book would be able to shock the community. It's difficult to shock in a city like New York."

Horwitz has a touching faith in what can be accomplished by compassionate people, especially caseworkers, who will be concerned. He is vastly impatient with the mechanics. "It [delinquency; dependency] doesn't require, as some people suggest, to use language easily, 'massive rehabilitation,' knocking down this, pushing that over, sending in 'task forces.' Because just like an army in the field, if there is no ammunition in the infantryman's gun, he is helpless." The ammunition is dedication and sympathy.

"We don't have to be told what causes delinquency," he testified at another point. "If you walk into some of the buildings I go to—I have one building where every girl over thirteen has had one baby, some have started on their second, some have already aborted a second; where their whole vision of life is public assistance; where the father, the man who produced this child, this human being, doesn't exist. He has no reality in this world. It's as though the baby was brought about by artificial insemination."

Clearly there is a desperate need for workers with Horwitz's devotion. It is they who "assuage the assaults of conscience" for all of us—they, abetted by Carter's "gentle legions" of responsible citizens. But this does not resolve the coming dilemma posed by the Somers and by Professor Muller. The problems arising in health and welfare are not susceptible to resolution through any one avenue, any ingenious shortcut. The more one ponders the problems and the literature, the more one must agree with the thesis of Professor Frankel, that the government undertake preventive social planning on the vast scale commensurate with the problems suddenly upon us. Soon we will discover there is no other choice.

Letter to A Georgia Gentleman

by STAIGE BLACKFORD

This article represents a letter written by Blackford to his uncle in Atlanta. The author, now living in the North, was born and raised in the South and is the grandson of a Confederate soldier. Mr. Blackford's Atlanta uncle, the author notes, "is a true Southern gentleman of the old school, a doctor who has cared for Negro patients through his long career."—THE EDITORS.

DEAR UNCLE:

In your last letter you intimated that I sounded like a Yankee liberal talking on a subject he knows nothing about—the race problem in the South today. You wrote: "I suspect, my dear nephew, that you love the Negro only in the abstract; and you certainly don't know the modern-day one (at least in Georgia) as well as I do, nor have you done as much for him."

Your suspicion is wrong. I don't love the Negro in the abstract or in general, though I have an abiding affection for the individual Negroes I grew up with in Charlottesville. Nor am I a fanatic supporter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, though I sympathize with its overall objectives. And whatever kind of liberal I am, I am not a Yankee one. You can take the boy out of the South, but you can't take the South out of the boy. In fact, having now lived in New York for almost three years, I'm inclined to think the difference between Northern and Southern race prejudice is this: Northerners appear to love Negroes as a race and hate them as individuals while Southerners love Negroes as individuals and hate them as a race. But in the North a Negro has a right to his self-respect; in the South he does not. One can certainly see that, regardless of whether he knows the modern-day Negro or not.

It may well be true to say that you know the modern-day Negro in Georgia better than I do. But I don't think you know a great deal about Negroes in Georgia or anywhere else (that is not to argue that you haven't done a great deal for them—far more than I—both professionally as a doctor and personally as a man). Moreover, your kind of argument, the kind that says only misinformed or misguided people support integration, has been used time and time again by Southerners. The gist of it is this:

"Yankees don't understand the Negro, only white Southerners do. They know Negroes, Yankees don't. That's why Yankees should not try to tell the South what it should do about Negroes. That's why Yankees should not stick their noses in the South's business. Let us, the people who know and understand the Negro, handle our own affairs. Let us decide when he is no longer a child just out of the jungle. Let us decide when he has become civilized enough to have a voice in our society. Let us decide when 'separate but equal' is ready to be changed to 'equal for all.' Let us alone and give us enough time (it'll take another generation at least) and everything will work out all right in the end."

* * *

There's one great fallacy in this kind of argument: The Southerner neither knows nor understands the Negro. How can he? How can you know and understand someone you've never considered as an equal, much less treated as one? How can you know and understand someone you've done your best to keep down in a separate, segregated segment of society? I often wonder just how many white Southerners have ever so much as imagined what it must be like to be a Negro in the South. Have you ever wondered what the Negro thinks about his place in Southern society—that of being, at best, a second class citizen? Have they ever thought of the Negro as being in any way like themselves, having the same dreams, the same ambitions, the same desire to make the world better for himself and his children and his children's children? Perhaps a few Southern whites have paused to think about these things, but chances are they are few indeed.

Unfortunately, most Southerners have never bothered to think about what the Negro wants for himself and his race. Unfortunately, most Southerners seem to have ignored what the late Earl Long warned the Louisiana legislature to realize after all these years: "You got to recognize that niggers is human beings." That madness in New Orleans last year showed how well Louisiana's lawmakers heeded his warning. That even more recent display in Athens showed how much recognition your fellow Georgians are willing to accord Negroes.

If you won't even recognize a man as a fellow human being, then how can you possibly expect to know and understand him? If you treat a man as a semi-savage unable and unworthy of being considered an equal, then how can you expect him to respect you for it? Yet that is precisely what Southerners expect from the Negro—complete and utter respect, a respect that borders on servility. Know and understand the Negro? The truth—and the tragedy—of the South is that its white people have never known and understood the Negro, have never thought of him or treated him as anything more than an ignorant inferior.

Regarding the Negro as an ignorant inferior, Southerners were completely unprepared for what was bound to happen after "Black Monday" at the United States Supreme Court May 17, 1954. Being unprepared, they were at first astounded, then angered by the Negro's determination and defiance once he had the law of the land behind him. Being unprepared, they were bothered, bewildered, and ultimately beaten by such Negro movements as Martin Luther King's non-violent resistance campaign in Montgomery. Now, having fumed and fussed, threatened and terrorized, Southern segregationists find that they, not the Negro, are in the wrong and on the run. Unbowed and unbroken, the Negro continues his march toward equality. Now, rather than offering massive resistance, the South is slowly but surely making a massive retreat in the face of integration—and the inevitable.

* * *

No, Uncle, I don't have any special love for the Negro. Nor do I have any particular knowledge of him. But I do think that right and might are both on his side. I do think that it is high time for him to be admitted as an equal in American society, both North and South, not in the eyes of the *Social Register* but in the eyes of the law (like the poor and prostitution, prejudice has always been with us and probably always will be). I do think, in the words of Judge Learned Hand, that "the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind the lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest." That spirit is the antithesis of segregation and all it stands for. And, for all I don't know about the Negro, there is one thing I do know: He is determined to win his rights, those rights guaranteed to every American, regardless of his class or color; the Negro is determined to win his rights however long it takes and whatever the sacrifices to be made. That is obvious today.

It is equally obvious that the South hasn't the ghost of a chance of stopping him. So, as Harry Ashmore has observed, the epitaph for Dixie is just about ready to be written. Like him, I hope Dixie's epitaph will simply read R.I.P. That may well be a vain wish, but let us hope not. On that, if nothing else, I'm sure you'll agree with me.

Devotedly,
YOUR NEPHEW, STAIGE

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

Administration Weakness

Dear Sirs:

James Reston, writing in the New York *Times*, has expressed exceedingly well a concern shared by many of us who supported President Kennedy and his New Frontier. Wrote Mr. Reston: "This is an Administration of talkers and educators who do not talk to or educate the people . . ."

I cannot recall a single occasion during the recent session of Congress on which Mr. Kennedy took his position to the people. We knew he was submitting some fine legislation, but we were never alerted about the strength of the opposition or the need to communicate with our Congressmen on specific issues before they came to a vote.

This is a grave weakness that cries out for correction. Those of us who supported the New Frontier feel we have a contribution to make. We can help if we have leadership in the White House. The time has come for Mr. Kennedy to "get moving again."

Clara Greenleaf
Evanston, Illinois

West German Militarism

Dear Sirs:

As an American who has recently returned from a six-weeks stay in Berlin with considerable contact with the people of East Berlin, allow me to share with you my strongest single impression.

There is considerable economic dissatisfaction in East Germany, and a genuine desire for more personal freedom; but the number one topic of conversation and the chief concern of the East German people is their fear of war and what they call West German militarism. This is as true of the unhappy eighty per cent who form the opposition to the regime as of the twenty per cent who support it. War and West Germany are joined together in the minds of East Germans.

Is there any basis for this fear? Despite the surrounding cloud of Communist propaganda, certain facts cannot be disputed. The West German army contains forty generals who are former Nazis, and all of the 140-odd generals and admirals in the West German armed forces were high officers under Hitler.

General Foersch, the new commander-in-chief of the West German armed forces, is a convicted war criminal; a Soviet court sentenced him in 1950 to twenty-five years in prison for a long list of crimes which have never been fully contested. Foersch served five years in a Soviet prison before he was sent to West Germany where, under an agreement with Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, he was to continue his sentence. Instead, he was immediately released and soon rejoined the Wehrmacht General Staff, which he now heads.

Two former Nazi generals who have leading posts in NATO, General Heusinger, current chairman of the NATO Permanent Planning Commission, and General Speidel, chief of NATO ground forces in Europe, are both liable to prosecution under Soviet law for war crimes committed during World War II on the Eastern front. People who have not been schooled in the need to take anti-Communist allies wherever they can be found still regard men like Foersch, Heusinger, and Speidel as war criminals and as potentially dangerous to world peace.

The West German refusal to recognize East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia is seen as further evidence of aggressive intentions. In West Germany, irredentist organizations, with a combined membership of two and one-half million and mass meetings of as many as 300,000 people, demand the return of their former homes now in lands belonging to East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Force is disavowed, but no one believes that any of these lands can be added to West Germany without a war. With the exception of the Sudetenland, the demands of the irredentists are supported by both major political parties, whose leaders frequently speak at the irredentist rallies.

The East German fear of West German militarism is shared by all the East European countries, by their leaders as well as by their people, which is just what Nikita Khrushchev has told us over and over again. In Communist countries, as in capitalist countries, leaders reflect the views of their people as well as help form them; the Communists' emphasis on molding people does not exclude leaders and people from genuinely holding certain views in common, and this certainly is the case in regard to West German militarism.

The East European countries together lost some twenty-five million people through Nazi aggression in World War II, and now—in blatant contradiction to that part of the Potsdam Conventions they considered most important—many of the same men who inflicted this destruction have returned to positions where they can threaten new destruction.

The solution of the Berlin crisis will be the temporary one of a German peace treaty which recognizes the sovereignty of the East German state and the present boundaries of all Germany as permanent—or war will be the alternative.

Bertell Ollman
Ford Fellow
St. Antony's College
Oxford, England

No Nevada Militia

Dear Sirs:

Your editorial comments on "A Swarm of Locusts" in the October *Progressive* create the impression that the state of Nevada is planning a militia to repel "invasion" by refugees if California is bombed. The false impression results from your failure to include pertinent facts.

The proposal of J. Carlton Adair, plans and programs officer for Las Vegas Civil defense, for fighting Californians has now been repudiated by other civil defense officials in the Las Vegas area and by the governor of Nevada. Civil defense plans on the state and national levels provide for assistance to refugees from residents of less damaged areas. Food is already being stockpiled in the Las Vegas area, and a hotel there promised to give refugees its "last piece of bread."

Your conclusion that civil war is likely at home in case of enemy attack is fortunately not well founded; I think the American people deserve more confidence.

Robert L. Montgomery
Reno, Nevada

Warburg 'Brilliant'

Dear Sirs:

It was with deepest interest than I read James P. Warburg's brilliant analysis of the German situation in the September issue of *The Progressive*. In my opinion he overlooks, however, one hard fact: In the foreseeable future reunification of Germany is out of the question.

It can be taken for granted that the Russians never will renounce control of their socialized satellite, the East German People's Democratic Republic. The same is true for the Western powers as far as West Germany is concerned.

Therefore any plan for a compromise on this German problem which aims to be realistic should completely renounce a settlement of the question of German reunification.

Dr. Hugo Marx
Basel, Switzerland

Dear Sirs:

You must be congratulated for the publication of the brilliant and courageous article by James P. Warburg, "Opportunity in Berlin," in the September *Progressive*.

His penetrating observations ought to be hammered into the minds of the President, policy-making officials, Senators and Representatives, and the millions of plain Americans misled by newspapers and magazines, radio and television commentators.

Unfortunately, it is evident that Warburg's excellent proposals will be completely disregarded by the present leadership of the Western powers.

For the sake of peace, it is imperative that the United Nations occupy itself with the Berlin question and appoint a commission of experts to draw, after extensive hearings, a plan for a genuine free city of Berlin with foolproof guarantees for the economic and political freedom of her inhabitants and free access from and to West Germany. There would be no better or more desirable chairman for such a commission than Mr. Warburg.

Dr. Julius Fleischmann
Zurich, Switzerland

Pills Without Profits

Dear Sirs:

Regarding the article, "The Profit in Pills," in the September *Progressive,* I should like to share with fellow subscribers information about the American Association of Retired Persons, Suite 419, Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, D.C. This is an organization which tries to help older persons, not necessarily retired, with their health problems. Annual membership dues are $2 per year. The Association has its own drug service, approved by the Food and Drug Administration, and supplies members with prescription drugs at a saving of some twenty-five per cent.

There is also a hospital insurance with help for follow-up services.

Helen S. Eaton
Duxbury, Massachusetts

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946. (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233.)

Of The Progressive, published monthly at Madison 3, Wisconsin, for October 1, 1961.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Progressive, Inc., Madison, Wisconsin; Editor, Morris H. Rubin, Madison, Wisconsin; Associate Editors, Mary Sheridan and John McGrath, Madison, Wisconsin; Business Manager, Gordon Sinykin, Madison, Wisconsin.

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The Progressive, Inc., Madison 3, Wisconsin, a non-profit corporation consisting of more than 7,000 members, none of whom holds 1 per cent of the stock.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was 30,865.

MORRIS H. RUBIN, Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this second day of October, 1961.

MILDRED LOHFF
Notary Public, Dane County, Wis.
(My Commission expires Jan. 25, 1963)

Boosts Circulation

Dear Sirs:

I think *The Progressive* is the most effective liberal magazine in the country. Over a period of years, I have given many trial subscriptions to thinking people, and it has been gratifying to learn of the good percentage who renewed. There is no work the readers of *The Progressive* can do that is more important than to give this great magazine an avalanche of new subscriptions. Certainly liberals should be willing to work as hard to preserve the Bill of Rights and democracy as the hate groups are working to destroy freedom.

Enclosed is $10 for five more trial six months subscriptions to be sent to the list enclosed. I am going to ask each one to send in one or more trial subscriptions to their thinking friends.

Surely there are thousands of your readers who know how important it is for us to give *The Progressive* 100,000 new readers. I don't know how anyone can invest $10 more intelligently and creatively than to give five six months trial subscriptions to your outstanding magazine. They might ask those for whom they subscribe to do likewise.

W. C. Meyer
Phoenix, Arizona

Appeasement Doesn't Pay

Dear Sirs:

I am somewhat disturbed to read in *The Progressive* all kinds of excuses for Nikita Khrushchev, but a rather critical tone towards the Americans and their Western allies. It seems to me a number of your articles and letters to the Editor are of the appeaser type. They sound very much the way some people sounded before World War II about Hitler. "Why fight over Sudetenland? Danzig?" If nothing else we should have learned that appeasement doesn't pay.

Examples of this kind of statement are these from the October issue:

Page 3: "But we failed miserably on the second count when we proclaimed our own policy of embarking on new nuclear testing." I don't want America to be annihilated through non-testing after the Russians renew testing in the atmosphere. If the President thinks we should renew underground testing at this point, I think we should give him the benefit of the doubt since we have no access to all the information.

Page 7: "French President Charles de Gaulle has behaved abominably. . . ." You did not say this about Mr. Khrushchev. Why reserve your choicest epithets for our allies, even granting that some of the things they do are not right?

Walter J. Schloss
New York, N.Y.

Force No Solution

Dear Sirs:

U.S. and Western dependence on force is alienating much of the world and will encourage the spread of Communism rather than deter it.

I have visited many of the 200 slum areas of Rio de Janeiro, which often have no water, sewers, or electricity, and they appear to me to be fertile fields for Communist propaganda. How much better it would be to help these communities than to furnish arms to the Brazilian armed forces.

I believe we should offer Russia solutions to the problems of nuclear tests and of Berlin, based not only on our ideas of safety, but taking also into account Russia's not entirely unjustified fears.

For example, it seems to me a nuclear test agreement under the supervision of a three-man directorate, as proposed by Russia, is better than no agreement at all. If Russia should then use her veto power and resume testing we would be no worse off than now, and world opinion would be on our side.

A divided Germany is a tragedy, but it appears that not only is it impossible to reunite Germany at present but that large interests in the Western nations do not even want a united Germany. It is understandable that Russia fears a Western-oriented Berlin in the center of a Communist-oriented territory.

The problem must be solved by methods other than force. To fight for Berlin would mean the certain and total annihilation of the Berliners as well as a large portion of the world.

If no other solution seems possible, we might move all Berlin residents who so desire to a new city to be built in Western Germany—a huge undertaking, but probably less costly than the forty-seven billions we are spending annually on armament.

Doris Barr Stanislawski
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Migrants vs. Farmers

Dear Sirs:

In your brief comment in September on Mexican migrant farm labor, you might have mentioned that not only does the American migrant worker compete with this type of labor, but the small farmer, who does most of his own work, also must compete. The large farmer and farm corporation, using cheap labor, can force the small farmer to sell his own labor at the same rate. The efficiency margin which the large operator enjoys over the small producer has this cheap-labor factor as its principal ingredient.

Let the large farms pay wages comparable to what other workers get and it will not be so easy to put out of business the man who operates on his own and his immediate family's labor.

The problem of overproduction that plagues agriculture could be largely if not completely solved by this labor wage-rate approach. I would like to see the unions take over before the small farmers are reduced to peons.

J. A. Lynch
San Dimas, California

Dear Sirs:

The article in the September issue by Senator Harrison A. Williams points up well some of the long-overlooked problems of migrant agricultural labor.

For those persons who seek further information may I suggest a bibliography on migrant labor which is available for ten cents from the Friends Committee on Legislation, 2160 Lake Street, San Francisco 21, California.

Charles L. Smith
Berkeley, California

Schickel and Art

Dear Sirs:

Never have you published such an appalling mass of misrepresentation as Richard Schickel's article in *The Progressive* for October entitled "That Cultural Explosion." Space is lacking to go into the matter thoroughly, so I confine myself to two salient points.

1. High art is *not* the product of a ". . . small, closed society in which high art is the handmaiden of a tiny elite group, superbly educated by comparison with the surrounding masses." The great art of the West has been produced by members of an expanding and commercially prosperous "open society" in which a market-woman's son can become a Euripides, a shoemaker's son can become a Christopher Marlowe, and a boy from the Missouri backwoods can grow up to be Mark Twain.

2. As a product of social change, then, high art is an exceedingly admirable product of social, political, and economic conditions. Schickel deplores greed as a factor in the history of art; well, is he prepared to take a *Progressive*-eye view of the naked greed, shameless exploitation, and sheer brutality that went into the building of Athens, Rome, Florence, London, and Concord?

James L. Zwirner
St. Paul, Minnesota

No Guidebook Needed

Dear Sirs:

Since the John Birch Society is compiling a list of those that come under their definition of a "Comsymp," I would consider it highly impractical for anyone to reply to B. E. Coan's request in a recent People's Forum letter for a list of liberal organizations with which to compile a guidebook. I would want to know whom it will guide and for what reason. I have seen altogether too many fine people left without jobs as a result of the antics of these fascistic hoodlums and I would hate to think that *The Progressive* had been instrumental in helping them compile a guide to more victims.

M. Scott
Orange, California

Latin Americans Deserving

Dear Sirs:

I want to congratulate you for the great work that you are doing to promote friendly relations between the United States and the peoples of Latin America.

Too often, the United States has aided countries in Europe and Asia while ignoring the people in South America who really want to be your friends. In my mind the people of South and Central America are as deserving as are those of any other part of the world.

I am ardently in favor of improving ties between the United States and Chile and again I want to congratulate you for your splendid work in behalf of Latin American relations.

Roberto Munoz Labrador
Los Andes, Chile

Mayer Among The Best

Dear Sirs:

I was somewhat amazed at the mass of bitter attacks by your "liberal" readers on Milton Mayer for his unconventional but brilliantly incisive essay against revenge-punishment. Even if he were off base in his "Eichmann in Israel" dialogue, does one mistake make a monster? I have long considered Mayer among the top writers in America.

In response to Henry Fruchter's letter in your August issue, in which he pledged a dollar for each future issue which omitted Mayer, I hereby pledge a two dollar donation for every issue of *The Progressive* which contains a Milton Mayer article; and on an Army private's pay that's something of a sacrifice.

Pvt. James H. Norvell
U.S. Forces
Vaihingen, Germany

WFMT Not Best

Dear Sirs:

I do not wish to disagree with Sherwood Ross, for WFMT, Chicago, as he wrote in the October *Progressive*, is a very fine station. But I am sure that no one who has listened regularly to it and to KPFA, Berkeley, and KPFK, Los Angeles (and, I suppose, the other Pacifica station in New York), would mention it in the same sentence or article because the Pacifica stations are much better and have no—not even carefully selected—commercials.

J. C. Cederstrom
Portland, Oregon

Progressive 'A Gold Mine'

Dear Sirs:

My thanks for presenting such a magazine as *The Progressive*. And to think that I did not know it existed a year ago! I feel as if I discovered a gold mine and wish to share my wealth with everyone.

Sandy Smolen
San Francisco, Calif.

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BOOKS

Lonely Judges

FIFTY-EIGHT LONELY MEN, by J. W. Peltason. Harcourt, Brace & World. 270 pp. $4.95.

Reviewed by

Marion A. Wright

J. WATIES WARING and George Bell Timmerman are both native South Carolinians of approximately the same age and background. Waring was, and Timmerman still is, a U.S. District Judge. Superficially, at least, they were molded and shaped by the same forces and social pressures. As judges, they interpreted the same Constitution and statutes, passing judgment on many civil rights issues. Logically, their interpretations should have exhibited striking similarity. But their decisions on such issues were poles apart. Waring became, and will historically remain, one of the nation's great liberal jurists. Timmerman, if embalmed in history, will be noted chiefly for his futile efforts to preserve the South's caste system.

Throughout the South, in the last decade, the Waring and Timmerman story has had dozens of counterparts. J. W. Peltason, in *Fifty-eight Lonely Men,* has put in one significant volume the stories of Southern Federal judges, district and circuit, and the way in which they performed their judicial function under the stresses generated by the problem of desegregation.

The point is clearly made that the circuit judges, who constitute the appellate tribunals which normally hear appeals from district courts, have uniformly been more forthright and courageous than the district judges. The circuit judges serve a larger area and enjoy a relative detachment from local litigation, as well as less elbow-rubbing with clients and lawyers, which have contributed to their greater freedom in the discharge of their duties.

The Supreme Court decision in the celebrated case of *Brown vs. Board of Education* placed upon Southern Federal judges, whether wisely or not, the burden of seeing that Southern public schools moved toward desegregation. More specifically, such judges, with no familiar landmarks to guide them, had to determine in each case what constituted "with all deliberate speed." This book is a clinical study of the manner in which these black-robed figures went about their tasks. So far as I am aware, this book is unique. Nowhere else is to be found so carefully documented a study of the reaction of judges to the mass pressures of the times.

The easy assumption that the judge is a mechanism that automatically records a conclusion from certain facts receives a brutal battering. From a consideration of all the cases there emerges the conviction that the personality of the judge, his stock of biases and predilections, and his philosophy and social outlook, effect, if they do not control, his judicial conclusions. As Justice Cardozo wrote in *The Nature of the Judicial Process:*

> "If there is anything of reality in my analysis of the judicial process, [the judges] do not stand aloof on chill and distant heights; and we shall not help the cause of truth by acting and speaking as if they do. The great tides and currents which engulf the rest of men, do not turn aside in their course, and pass the judges by."

In the labors of fifty-eight Southern judges in the last decade Justice Cardozo would have found massive support for his thesis.

The good writer of fiction is sparing of adjectives in describing the individuals about whom he writes. He develops his characters merely by recording their words and deeds. It is not necessary to shout that this is a good or bad, or a wise or stupid man. Here is what the man said and did. From surveying those words and deeds, the reader decides for himself, with no prompting from the author, the quality of the individual. Peltason has used this formula. Statements from and off the bench, acts in and out of court, are recorded. Thus the judges write their own epitaphs.

South Carolina's Judge Timmerman, writing of a statute disqualifying teachers who were members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said: "The statute is designed to protect young minds from the poisonous effects of NAACP propaganda," which the judge considered an entirely proper purpose since that organization "disturbs the peace and tranquility which has long existed between the white and Negro races."

Judge Wilson Warlick of North Carolina has said: "I'm a states' rights individual and I always have been. If I had anything to do with schools in North Carolina, I wouldn't let the Federal government have any part of it."

Virginia's Judge Armistead Dobie once referred to Gunnar Myrdal, a distinguished Swedish social scientist, as "a foreign Communistic anthropologist."

The chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court (not a Federal official), J. Edwin Livingston, thus expressed his conviction: "I'm for segregation in every phase of life and I don't care who knows it. . . . I would close every school from the highest to the lowest before I would go to school with colored people."

And Judge Glenn Terrell of Florida struck the religious note: "When God created man he allotted each race to his own continent according to color, Europe to the white man, Asia to the yellow man, Africa to the black man, and America to the red man."

In all fairness, it must be said that

there are many fine expressions from wise and conscientious Southern judges which relieve the picture. The author preserves a careful balance.

The judges are shown in action in Clinton, in Little Rock, in Nashville, in Dollarway, in Houston, and in the scores of other towns and cities where Negro litigants confronted the awesome power of their native states. They are shown in a distillation of more than 200 judicial hearings within a six year period.

The fifty-eight lonely men were lonely in part because they lacked the full and vigorous support of the executive branch of the government. At a time when they were performing delicate and arduous duties, President Eisenhower was silent or, at best, inarticulate. As Peltason points out:

> "President Eisenhower refused to provide moral leadership or to use his power as Chief Executive in support of the Supreme Court decision. Except for his momentary intervention in Little Rock, which he did not follow up, he refused to take any part in this, the most important domestic crisis of postwar America. He criticized 'extremists,' and then proceeded to equate the NAACP with the citizens councils, depicting the conflict as being between two equally legitimate groups, those working for compliance with the Constitution, and those working for its defiance. He said: '. . . There are very strong emotions on the other side, people that see a picture of mongrelization of the race, they call it.'
>
> "Eisenhower insisted that the refusal to obey the Federal courts could not be dealt with by law enforcement, but only by moral conversion, yet he made little attempt to lead the people toward this conversion. In 1956, when a few Southern schools were about to open for the first time on an integrated basis and segregationists were organizing student boycotts, a reporter asked the President if he would care to use his 'tremendous reservoir of good will among the young people' and give them some advice on how they should conduct themselves. Here is what the President said: 'Well, I can say what I have said so often: it is difficult through law and through force to change a man's heart . . . We must all . . . help to bring about a change in spirit so that extremists on both side do not defeat what we know is a reasonable, logical conclusion to this whole affair, which is recognition of equality of men.' "

The President seemed to regard as equally culpable "extremists on both sides"—those who were trying to close the public schools and those who were trying to keep them open.

The loneliness of the judges was further accentuated by other examples in high places. On March 12, 1956, ninety-six United States Congressmen from the South issued their notorious "manifesto." Influential men, such as Byrd, Russell, and Byrnes, were urging policies of open defiance. From them lesser leaders took their cue. The judges were confronted, therefore, not merely with opposition from the rank and file, but by incitements to rebellion coming from on high. Such incitements, issued from plush offices, bore their ultimate fruit in women who snarled and spat at Negro children on their way to school and in men who wielded clubs and touched off sticks of dynamite.

This book is more than a recital of the tribulations of judges. It is a study of a region in transition. Crises do not make character; they reveal it. This book is studded with such revelations. The good and the bad, the sordid and the noble, the brutal and the humane, are all compressed within the covers of this single volume.

Man against Man

BLACK LIKE ME, by John Howard Griffin. Houghton Mifflin. 176 pp. $3.50.

Reviewed by

P. D. East

BY BLACKENING his skin, John Griffin, a white Texan, became, for all practical purposes, a Negro for a period of seven weeks. *Black Like Me* is this talented and skillful writer's report of his travels as a Negro through four Southern states.

The project, begun, in Griffin's own words, "as a scientific research study of the Negro in the South, with careful compilation of data for analysis," ended with his filing the data and writing instead "the journal of my own experience living as a Negro."

Such a report is necessarily partly subjective and interpretive. But it is based on the personal experience of what must surely be one of the first white men to see the situation intimately from the point of view of both the white man and the Negro. And the effects of such an experience upon the white man involved are as interesting as the lessons he learned. Thinking that he could conduct the project objectively, Griffin was shocked to find that, while living the life of a Negro, he had difficulty picturing himself in his real identity, so complete was the psychological as well as the outward physical transformation.

One must read the book in its entirety, chronologically, in order fully to appreciate both the findings and the writer's commentary on them. But a few of his conclusions may be summarized:

¶ From his experience of switching from white to black, and vice versa, in the same locale, Griffin concluded that the relationship between the two races is based purely upon color: "I was the same man, whether white or black. Yet when I was white, I received the brotherly-love smiles and privileges from whites and the hate stares or obsequiousness from the Negroes. And when I was a Negro, the whites judged me fit for the junk heap, while the Negroes treated me with great warmth."

¶ From living the life of both white and black, Griffin confirmed his impression that there is not "even the communication of intelligent awareness" between the two races. He reports, for example, that the Negro says to the white man what he knows the latter wants to hear, not necessarily what the Negro actually feels or thinks. And, again, that the white man will reveal attitudes and traits of personality or character to the Negro that he never reveals to any white person.

¶ Griffin reports genuine tragedy in that the efforts of best-intentioned whites often fail because they overplay their supposed lack of prejudice, becoming "paternalistic," and therefore just as objectionable to the Negro as those who express outright prejudice—"We show our prejudice in our paternalism—we downgrade their dignity."

Black Like Me is informative, moving, powerful. It is a valuable document, the only one of its particular kind on the racial question as it is posed today in the South. Beyond that, in universal application, it is a document on "man's inhumanity to man." One is reminded of Lillian Smith's *Killers of the Dream*, both in reading the report and in Griffin's statement in the "Preface":

"The Negro. The South. These are details. The real story is the universal one of men who destroy the souls and bodies of other men (and in the process destroy themselves) for reasons neither really understands."

Disjointed Novel

Clock Without Hands, by Carson McCullers. Houghton Mifflin. 241 pp. $4.

Reviewed by

Donald Emerson

Carson McCullers is the novelist of the loving and the isolated, whose defeats she portrays with understanding and tenderness. For her characters, fantasy often has the force of reality, and violence to their dreams can be as devastating as the cruelties of the real world. She portrays loving more than love; her people, uncertain of their own complexities of feeling, grope toward fulfillments which elude them. Joy is transient, happiness impossible, and any character's sense of identity is the goal of an uncertain quest.

Mrs. McCullers began with *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter,* a novel she has not surpassed. She is not now cool and ironic, as in *Reflections in a Golden Eye,* nor less capable of understanding the young than in *The Member of the Wedding*. It is uncertainty about her objective that weakens *Clock Without Hands,* her first novel in ten years. The understanding, the tenderness, the humor and pathos are evident once more, but the plot is loose, and Mrs. McCullers has attempted to make her characters stand for the whole South. It was a mistake; she is most herself as the novelist of inner experience. The private and the symbolic roles of her characters undercut each other, to the reader's confusion.

Even the title expresses an ambiguity. J. T. Malone, the druggist of Milan, Georgia, is dying of leukemia—a man confusedly watching his time run out on a clock without hands. But when, in the last chapter, Malone's old friend Judge Clane bursts in with the news of the U.S. Supreme Court's school integration decision, the implication is that the justices' "all deliberate speed" is also to be measured by a clock without hands, and that the Southern dilemma has been symbolized through Malone, Judge Clane, Jester Clane, the Judge's grandson, and Sherman Pew, a Negro.

One is uncertain whether this was Mrs. McCullers' object, or whether the novel concerns each character's search for identity, or whether Jester's attainment of manhood and freedom is the theme. Segregation, demagoguery, hatred, and violence affect each of the four chief characters, but their individual lives are not all vitally related. Malone, whose dying sets the time span of the novel, has little importance for Jester or Sherman or the Judge, who are central.

Malone rebels against his illness, but his forced acceptance of approaching death at last brings clear realization of what he has known unprotestingly for years—that his life is empty, and that somewhere he has lost his self. He never recovers it, and he slips out of life quietly after refusing to endanger his possibly immortal soul by bombing Sherman Pew out of a house in a white neighborhood.

Old Judge Clane, now eighty-five, maintains his identity through his file of clippings, proof enough that he was a Congressman and passed in his town for a statesman. Blindly reactionary, the Judge is sustained by a last mad scheme for the redemption of Confederate currency, ten million dollars worth of which he holds. This senile old demagogue with foolish notions of the Southern past will condone violence if so many take part that no one man can feel responsible.

The Judge's son was a suicide before Jester Clane was born, but he

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is a determining force in his own son's life. Jester at seventeen is beset by the questions, Who am I? What am I? He is one of the lonely and isolated, trying to reach others but frustrated by indifference where he seeks love, like so many of Mrs. McCullers' characters. Jester discovers his identity through understanding of his father. He too, as one of the "men of good will," refuses to accept Judge Clane's views, and turns away from violence.

Sherman Pew is far worse off than Jester, and his search for a self kills him. A Negro foundling, he is now Jester's age, and the two become friends in a complex and exasperating way; they are attracted to each other, they share a love of music, and they continually wound each other's feelings. The frustrations of his life and the discovery of his origin drive Sherman to compulsive hatred and defiance, and in a town where Judge Clane heads the fraternity of hate that is enough to get him murdered.

In *Clock Without Hands* there are leaps in time and shifts in viewpoint which give one a feeling of looseness and discontinuity. One cannot discover a focus on any character. Mrs. McCullers introduces many themes: the search for identity, the dilemma of the South, and the nature of love and passion and death, the question of responsibility, and the resort to violence. Yet there is no clear central purpose. Either this was to have been a bigger book, or it should have been more tightly constructed. That it might have been bigger is apparent from its thematic richness and from the excellent scene of Jester and Sherman getting drunk together as they become friends, or the equally full scene of Jester declaring independence from the reactionary notions of his grandfather.

Clock Without Hands is a sadly disjointed novel, yet it suggests possibilities that would flesh out a brace of thin, brainless fictions. Although the total effect is below her own standard, Mrs. McCullers writes separate scenes which compare well with her best.

THE REVIEWERS

MARION A. WRIGHT is a Southern lawyer and a former president of the Southern Regional Council. P.D. EAST is editor of The Petal Paper, a liberal Southern paper which he has kept alive without local Mississippi support, and author of "The Magnolia Jungle." DONALD EMERSON is a professor of English at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee and a contributor to literary quarterlies. JACOB H. JAFFEE is chairman of the department of journalism at Long Island University. SHERWOOD ROSS is a free lance writer who lives in Chicago. WERNER W. BOEHM is a professor of social work at the University of Minnesota. MELVIN W. FRIEDMAN teaches modern literature at the University of Wisconsin. WILLIAM McCANN reviews paperbacks regularly for The Progressive.

The Wayward Press

THE PRESS, by A. J. Liebling. Ballantine Books. 284 pp. 75 cents.

Reviewed by

Jacob H. Jaffe

THE PRESS regularly faces a stern, if qualitatively uneven, battery of professional critics. Lyle Stuart *(The Independent)* and Burton Wolfe *(The Californian)* lambaste it from the corner of the neo-muckraker; Carl E. Lindstrom expertly delineates a host of flaws as an appreciated member of the academy; Charles Collingwood aims charmingly at his target on New York's weekly "WCBS-TV Views the Press" program; and the sophisticate of the set, A. J. Liebling, uses "The Wayward Press" department of *The New Yorker* magazine to needle subjects and invigorate readers. Stylistically and ideologically at variance with each other, the critics seem, nevertheless, to unite on one point: America's newspapers have never been more of a mess. Yet, in spite of their separate efforts, which must be apparent to an army of reporters, many editors, and a few publishers, the critics have exerted no appreciable influence on news media. The tragedy of the American press might not be so much its "decline" as its massive indifference to every legitimate complaint and appeal.

You may regret the futility of Liebling's punch, now spanning almost twenty years, but it is impossible not to be stimulated by his sparkling style, a temperament that mixes humor with skepticism, and a determined exploitation of timely specifics. The latest collection of his es-

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In the Shadow of Chessman — Paul Crump

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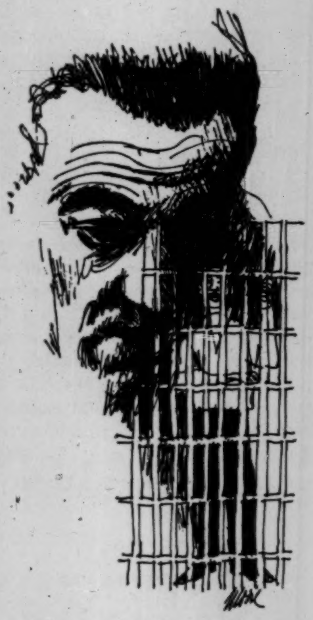

A little more than a year ago, The Californian was at the heart of the fight for Caryl Chessman. Now, another case, equally important and shot full of the same type of injustices, is made this magazine's focal point for the abolition of capital punishment.

The man on Death Row this time is not a genius or a famous writer, although he is intelligent and writes quite well. But that is not why his case is not attracting nationwide attention: he is a Negro, from the poverty of Chicago's Black Belt. He was considered important enough, however, for Jack Johnson, Warden of Cook County Jail, to make the following statement:

"Paul Crump is an excellent example of the success of the rehabilitation philosophy. He could today, if released, easily take his place in society."

Paul Crump is also a living symbol of the injustices of our penal code, of the failure of the poor, especially from minority groups, to obtain proper representation. When you read Bill Friedkin's story in the October issue of The Californian, we think you will become as angry as we are, that you will agree Paul Crump has never been given his day in court or in the press, that he has suffered cruel and unjust punishment, that he has been on Death Row for eight years (waiting out 40 legal actions) despite serious doubt of his guilt, and that capital punishment should be abolished.

You may also be interested in the following articles in the October issue:

TRIALS OF A STUDENT PROTEST GROUP—by Linda Grant, past editor of the official daily newspaper at San Francisco State College. While SLATE, the student protest group at the University of California, has been given most of the publicity, the story of SCOPE at San Francisco State is perhaps even more typical of the revival of student unrest on campuses across the nation.

MEANEST COMPANY IN THE WORLD—This is the top story in The Californian's regular feature, "The World of Business," documented and name-naming articles dealing with some of the nation's biggest corporations. It deals with a company (named) caught short-changing kiddies on its world-famous candy bar (named).

'SOCIALIZED MEDICINE' IN BRITAIN—By Ronald Fraser, British novelist and former reporter, editor and chief of The Hague Bureau of Reuters.

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says—most of them *New Yorker* items, a few orginals, and a considerable ratio coming by way of two previous Liebling "Wayward" volumes (contradicting the publisher's promotional claim that "this is an original publication, not a reprint")—may not touch the conscience of calloused publishers, but they are likely to educate or entertain just about everyone else. The most probable result of Liebling's collective enterprise, scheduled to achieve a wide circulation by its appearance in inexpensive paperback form, will be more and more people reading newspapers with less and less confidence.

Although Liebling offers no astonishments and examines dailies as an outsider exclusively, his taste and curiosity produce fresh observations. He also brings a distinguishing trait to his subect: Just as some men are economic, moral, or psychological determinists, Liebling has faith in numbers. In his world, the numerical, sometimes shaped as wealth, often matters most. He argues that if there were simply more newspapers in a given geographical area, heightened competition would bring readers a larger fund of news; if there were more reporters and correspondents, a greater diversity of approaches to complicated affairs would result.

With this conviction serving as a theoretical base, he shows that monopoly has traveled from the national to the local scene: "The industry's ideal now is absolute control in a number of cities, or even one." The process is curiously tied in with the prevailing low-level capital-gains tax, which enables the weaker of two competitors to buy out the stronger one. Gradually, news becomes nonessential (for the newspaper owner) and advertising physically overwhelming. The newspaper reader is suddenly aware that he has no other place to go.

In *The New Yorker* pieces, Liebling's most familiar device has been to make fools of journalists by exposing the silly ways in which they contradict each other relative to a specified story. But years after the events, much of this material has paled. The size of Chiang Kai-shek's army in Formosa, a Long Island Railroad strike, and the final illness of Josef Stalin, as covered contemporaneously by the dailies, no longer appear to have dramatic importance.

Liebling's most fundamental shortcoming, however, is a primary attachment to basic premises and standards of judgment drawn from a distinctively past era of journalism. What he says is true enough, but he has not satisfactorily probed all of the forces that are reshaping the press situation. The impact of competing media, the strange new power of publishers like Samuel I. Newhouse, the terrible dependence of dailies on the public relations giant, the absurd emphasis on typographic window dressing paralleled by a depressing editorial stagnancy, and the awesome transformation of so many news media into apologists (or fall guys) for public officials, are either skimmed over or ignored. Liebling sees newspapers as personalities young and growing or old and subject to the favorable and unfavorable characteristics of that state, with externals playing good and bad roles. The difference between the Thirties and the Sixties is viewed substantially as a matter of degree. But the change may be much more drastic.

Bridges of Peace

AMERICAN COOPERATIVES, by Jerry Voorhis. Harper. 226 pp. $4.75.

Reviewed by

Sherwood Ross

THIS BOOK by Jerry Voorhis, executive director of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., is a highly readable account of the methods by which members of today's lonely crowd might yet preserve themselves from the shadow of atomic annihilation which daily lengthens over them. While not a blueprint for disarmament and peace, *American Cooperatives* does outline the economic possibilities by which men of all nations, the developed and the underdeveloped, may learn to exercise a vital measure of economic and political control over their lives and destinies.

Tracing the rise of cooperatives in America from Benjamin Franklin's mutual fire insurance company in Philadelphia in 1752 to the equally successful rural electric co-ops of the New Deal era, Voorhis charts the need for broadening the cooperative segment of the economy as the principal bulwark against the further concentration of wealth, power, and privilege in the hands of the few. The cooperative movement, Voorhis reasons, offers the republic its only viable and realistic alternative to the growth of monopoly power. He observes that trust-busting cannot turn back the economic clock; that massive banks, corporations, and insurance agencies cannot be reduced to their component parts; and that government regulation of these superbodies will, given the American worship of bigness, be no more effective in the future than the toils of the regulatory commissions have been in the past.

The cooperative concept, Voorhis says, applies "two of the basic principles which we are supposed to believe—democracy and freedom of enterprise. It is to adapt free enterprise to real democratic participation and control by the people as consumers. It is to organize, nurture, and build—as free people and by our own efforts—enough consumer cooperatives to restore the economic balance in our economy and protect and assert the general public and national economic interest."

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his believes, "would be of very great value in making possible realization of an adequate rate of [economic] growth, maximum employment, and price stability." He supports this thesis by citing Sweden's example, where cooperatives, while responsible for only about four per cent of manufacturing, one-third of all food sales, and seventeen per cent of total national business, have, by their mere economic presence and potential, kept the monopolies from administering prices, spurring inflation, retarding economic growth, and inducing unemployment as their counterparts in this nation have done.

When necessary, Sweden's *Kooperative Forbundet,* the national cooperative wholesale organization, has manufactured electric light bulbs, snow shoes, and other essentials in order to provide a realistically-priced alternative to the monopolists. The drubbing which the U.S.-financed international light bulb cartel received at Swedish hands is a historic test of the robustness and viability of the Swedish cooperative movement, one which could be emulated in the United States at great profit to consumers.

American cooperatives have only recently begun to make themselves felt as potent economic weapons. Their achievements in public power, insurance, supermarketing, credit, housing, and health plans provide an invaluable yardstick against which the actions of the for-profit industries can be measured.

One wishes Voorhis had devoted more space to the fascinating accomplishments and goals of the co-ops in international affairs, where cartels seem to be forging fresh economic chains for mankind. By nature, co-ops are consumer- rather than profit-oriented, and it is the consumers of the world, rather than its stockholders, whose desperate economic need must be met lest "the revolution of rising expectations" end in frustration, bitterness, hopelessness, and war. A world-wide cooperative movement, seeking neither profit nor political commitment, and motivated by a sense of humanity, is far better suited to guide and inspire the underdeveloped peoples than the agencies of any sovereign power. Unlike the principal characters in today's cold war, the International Cooperative Alliance, which last year held its twenty-first triennial congress in Switzerland, made no plans for distributing guns along with its butter. Its 150 million member families, who seek the overthrow of no government, nor any sweeping new alliance, mapped programs through which the U.S. and European co-ops could assist their Afro-Asian affiliates.

World co-op leaders recognize the need of millions in the new nations to find the means of establishing their own economic and political power. The promise of the cooperative movement is the same for Americans as for the inhabitants of the underdeveloped lands. It is, simply, that economic democracy may someday be companion to political democracy, for the latter can have no real substance without the triumph of the former. Until then, we have no right to expect more of our age than the continued proliferation of the lonely crowd; of a world peopled by men and women who, however great their exertions, have few deep convictions about a world they never made, in which, removed from the centers of economic power, they go forward day after day nursing the bleak hope that their political leaders will somehow spare them the final humiliation of a nuclear war. The cooperative movement, if the world gives it time, may yet build the bridges of peace for which author Voorhis hopes, and over which men of all nations might travel.

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Mental Health and Community Welfare

ACTION FOR MENTAL HEALTH. Basic Books. 338 pp. $6.75.

Reviewed by

Werner W. Boehm

THIS VOLUME, the final report of the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health, is the end result of the most comprehensive survey of mental illness ever conducted in the United States. The Joint Commission was established in 1955 by Congress, given an appropriation of $1,250,000 and a mandate to make "an objective, thorough, and nation-wide analysis and re-evaluation of the human and economic problems of mental illness." The Commission responded by producing ten monographs, six of which are published and four more in process, each dealing with a major aspect of mental health.

This concluding, highly readable report is precisely what the title promises: a call for action. It presents a cohesive, closely-reasoned set of recommendations supported by facts and designed to serve as a basis for programs aimed at the reduction of mental illness. The report pulls no punches and in its criticism of existing conditions spares no vested interest. Not everybody will be in agreement with the recommendations and some of them undoubtedly will be fiercely debated. Nor will every reader draw the same conclusions from the data assembled or arrive at the same priorities, but the facts are here and thus the responsibility for implementation is clearly placed: it rests with the experts in the mental health professions and, beyond them, with the citizens at large. For it is one of the findings of this report that mental illness, far from being the exclusive responsibility of the medical and allied professions, is the business of the whole community as long as attitudes of social ostracism and rejection of the

The Nation announces the publication, in its issue of October 28, of "JUGGERNAUT: The Warfare State" by Fred J. Cook, prize-winning author of "The FBI," "The CIA" and other special issues of **The Nation** which have made magazine history repeatedly for the last several years.

"JUGGERNAUT" deals with the frightening growth of the United States military-industrial complex against which President Eisenhower warned the country in his Farewell Address. It builds up, in the dramatic, fully documented fashion that is the trademark of Mr. Cook's reportage, the picture of the threat to democracy and personal liberty represented by the marriage that has been consummated between Big Business and the Brass of the Military.

As sensational as was the success of "The CIA," Mr. Cook's last presentation —**The Nation** sold out two oversize printings, and **Congressional Record** of Aug. 8, in which the story was inserted, has also been sold out—**The Nation's** editors predict that the demand for "JUGGERNAUT" will be even greater.

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mentally ill are rampant. Since mental illness is viewed as being much more than a medical condition, but rather the outcome of an unfortunate combination of physiological, psychological, social, cultural, and economic factors, measures for treatment and alleviation need to involve all forces and segments of the community.

The report, while recognizing the great importance of enhancing mental health in America, forthrightly places the major emphasis on the reduction and alleviation of major mental illness. What are the obstacles that stand in the way? They are lack of knowledge, lack of manpower, and lack of funds.

The report frankly acknowledges the paucity of tested knowledge about diagnosis and treatment of mental conditions. While recognizing that a variety of therapeutic approaches seem to "work," it also reveals the relative absence of well developed and generally accepted principles of diagnosis and treatment. The report recommends increased emphasis on research where clinicians as well as scientists, including those in the social and behavioral sciences, make common cause.

But knowledge will lie fallow unless there is the personnel to produce and to use it. A good many of the most searching and probably the most controversial recommendations deal with the manpower problem. Clearly the manpower shortage in the mental health professions (psychiatry, psychology, social work, and nursing) and in such allied fields as the ministry and education, is but a function of the total shortage of professional manpower in the United States, a shortage which reflects our tremendously wasteful loss of talent between high school and college. Nevertheless, the recommendations for more effective recruitment, training, and deployment of personnel in the mental health professions, and for elimination of the barriers between these professions, are worthy of serious consideration.

Despite our present limits in manpower and knowledge, much more can be done than is being done now. The report makes intriguing recommendations about the involvement of the total community in the care of the mentally ill, the increased and more effective use of out-patient facilities, such as halfway houses, foster home care, and the humane and effective utilization of the hospital itself. The report makes ingenious suggestions about more effective and efficient use of highly trained professional personnel that is available and makes a strong case for enlisting volunteers in the treatment process. Occasionally the recommendations seem to be too exclusively pointed to the medical profession as the pivotal group in the treatment of mental illness. This flaw is remedied by the report's strong presentation that mental illness requires much more than the traditional medical approach and that treatment is much more than a purely medical problem, a point which will spark some sharp debates.

* * *

Ultimately, of course, a breakthrough in knowledge and manpower can come about only through increased expenditures for mental health. Again, the report hits home by showing that the limited volunteer contributions for mental health (as compared with cancer, polio, and heart) and the grudging appropriations by public bodies for the care of the mentally ill reflect the community's pattern of rejection. The report recommends doubling of public expenditures for mental patient care in five years and tripling them in ten years and suggests a matching formula calling for the participation of local, state, and Federal governments.

Perhaps the most important lesson this report teaches the sophisticated reader is that mental health and community welfare are inextricably bound up with each other. Our disregard of the mind "that is lost" is just as costly, socially and individually, as our disregard of the productive mind, both being facets of our indifference to matters human in a primarily object-oriented society.

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The Glass Saga

FRANNY AND ZOOEY, by J. D. Salinger. Little, Brown. 201 pp. $4.

Reviewed by

Melvin J. Friedman

ALFRED KAZIN remarked in a recent *Atlantic* how unusual it is for a group of stories to have been given serious critical attention before they appeared as part of a volume. *Franny* and *Zooey*—originally published separately in *The New Yorker* in 1955 and 1957—have already been studied closely by critics of the stature of Alfred Kazin himself, Maxwell Geismar, and Arthur Mizener. They have been neatly wedged into their appropriate positions in the Salinger canon and have become essential parts of the Glass saga.

Franny is the traditionally told account of the youngest member of the Glass family during a disturbing college weekend. Franny has been questioning the conventional values of her society and suddenly has an unsettling emotional experience in the presence of her Ivy League boy friend over a lunch at Sickler's ("a highly favored place among, chiefly, the intellectual fringe of students at the college . . ."). She discovers that she can no longer tolerate the boy friend who demands her "unadulterated good-listenership." She asserts her independence through a quasi-religious rebellion and a fainting spell—which conjure up the earliest phases of a nervous breakdown.

Zooey follows chronologically from Franny but is more experimental in method. Salinger deserts the omniscient-author point of view and engages in less conventional narrative devices. He prefaces a few remarks about the form of the story (referring to it as "a sort of prose home movie") before he places Zooey in a bathtub on the Monday morning following Franny's weekend. Zooey, the next youngest Glass, manages to remain in the tub through fifty pages as he reads a four-year-old letter from his brother Buddy (which is reprinted almost in its entirety and reads like a mockery of Polonius' advice to Laertes) and engages in a strangely cantankerous conversation with his mother. After Zooey leaves the bathroom he has a painfully long session with Franny—who has sought refuge on the living room couch—about her metaphysical woes. He finally reasons her out of her crisis and forces her off the psychoanalytic couch into "a deep, dreamless sleep."

The two stories read separately in *The New Yorker* with a two year authorial lapse were not the satisfying experience which one finds now that they are printed together. Not only is it important to read *Zooey* immediately after *Franny* because one story directly follows from the other but also because they offer the alternatives of Salinger's method. *Franny* is refreshingly uncomplicated and straightforward, with the single narrator determining the point of view. *Zooey* uses certain of the experimental devices of modern fiction, occasionally offering them in light pastiche. It uses the elaborate cataloguing devices of a James Joyce or of a Samuel Beckett: all the items in the family medicine-cabinet are faithfully listed; the furniture in the Glass living room is described in tortuous detail; Zooey's shaving ritual is given the solemn importance of the Mass, recalling Buck Mulligan's labors in the opening pages of *Ulysses*. There is great compression of space in *Zooey;* the three active characters, Zooey, his mother, and Franny, never leave the Glass apartment. The time sequence is distorted in favor of psychological events, often conjured up from the past, rather than current physical happenings. A 150-page story occurs in only a small part of a single day.

Salinger has spoken of *Franny and Zooey* as being a "pretty skimpy-looking book." One wonders why he did not add two other uncollected stories from the Glass cycle: *Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters* and *Seymour: An Introduction*. Both concern the eldest Glass child, Seymour, who is always in the background as a kind of dispossessed spiritual father. And indeed *Seymour: An Introduction* would reinforce the structural eccentricities of *Zooey* and serve as an admirable prefatory essay for the volume. Yet even *Franny* and *Zooey* taken together offer a valuable insight into Salinger's purpose. They are enough to justify Maxwell Geismar's revealing observation: "One begins to realize that this is a sort of Yoknapatawpha County on Park Avenue."

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